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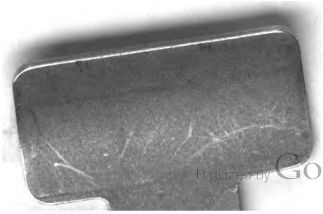
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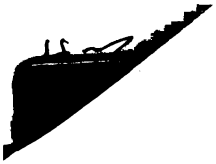
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THE CHURCH OF CHRIST

THE BAIRD LECTURE 1887



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THE CHURCH OF CHRIST

ITS LIFE AND WORK

AN ATTEMPT TO TRACE THE WORK OF THE CHURCH
IN SOME OF ITS DEPARTMENTS FROM THE
EARLIEST TIMES TO THE
PRESENT DAY

BY

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TO

THE REV. PROFESSOR STEVENSON, B.D.,

THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE, BALA.

MY DEAR STEVENSON,

I desire to connect this book with your name in this way, because your unselfish and vigilant help when it was passing through the press has laid me under obligations of which a sentence in the Preface is quite inadequate acknowledgment.

I am,

Yours ever,

A. H. CHARTERIS.

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PREFACE

THIS book consists of the *Baird Lectures* delivered in 1887. Publication was prevented at the time by disabling illness, and afterwards by a succession of interruptions. Now, with restored health, I am able to see it through the press. For the most part the book has been printed from the MS. of the lectures, but I have tried by footnotes and occasional longer notes at the end of the chapters to bring out some points that seemed to require elucidation. The long time which had elapsed since the lectures were written made it sometimes difficult to find the authority for statements in the text. I trust that in all important matters the references suffice.

The aim has been to furnish a readable outline of the history of each subject. I am acutely conscious that in every chapter there was room for deeper research than I have been able to undertake.

It would have been impossible to publish the book

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if I had not had the help of one of the earliest and one of the latest students in my class. To my friends Professor Nicol, D.D., University of Aberdeen, and Professor Stevenson, B.D., Theological College, Bala, my best thanks are due for revising the proof-sheets and making suggestions. I have to thank Miss E. Gardiner, M.A., for preparing the Index.

A. H. CHARTERIS.

August 1905.

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CHAPTER I

FUNCTIONS OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST

WHEN Christendom was founded, Society was on a rapidly descending slope, and hurrying to destruction. Men had lost faith in each other because they had not faith in themselves, and Christianity revived or created faith in man, in all men, because in God. When, some centuries later, the Roman Empire at last broke up, it was the Church of Christ, by this time strong enough for the task, which held together the sundered fragments, and called a new world into existence out of the "ruins of the old."

Again, in the sixteenth century, the social system on the continent of Europe was going to pieces. The Church of Rome was corrupt to the core, and thoughtful men scoffed at its pretensions. The movement of free life in the strong towns of the Netherlands was at war with the feudal system, which, though of no great antiquity, had been an enormous power. Against the Church and against the feudal system, man, conscious of responsibility, and demanding freedom, rose in revolt. There was a social as well as a religious revolt.

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The Reformation under Luther was also a struggle of the individual man to assert his freedom and his own direct responsibility to God. The Protestant religion became the religion of freedom and progress. The Protestant Church, even though very imperfectly organised, became the ally and guide of the emancipated people in the greater part of Western Europe; and, on the other side of things, the Papacy, being largely purified and popularised, successfully strove by many means, and especially by the new order of the Jesuits, to put itself alongside of the eager movements of the time. It is curious to see how the better organisation of the Romish Church enabled it to check the progress of Protestantism, whose efforts to overcome its rival have often been like the assaults of some undisciplined levies upon a trained army. We ask ourselves whether the sense of direct personal relations with God, which is at the root of the Reformation doctrine of Justification by Faith, is inconsistent with a potent and living organisation, like that which, through its priesthood, binds together the Church of Rome. Can the units, the believing souls who are members of Christ by faith, never be organised, coherent, and powerful except under a system based on an unscriptural doctrine of mediation through a priesthood?

We are again in an age of fermentation, when old foundations, social and political as well as religious, are being tested, and when the old bonds seem to be unable to hold men together. The relation of Capital to Labour, the ownership of property, especially of

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property in land, the division of society into hereditary classes, the ancient formulæ of sacred faith, nay, the faith itself,—on all of them a strong hand is laid, calling them to account for their present position. It is not enough to say that the Christian Church is not sufficiently powerful to keep men from faction and partisanship, for one must add that the teachings of the Gospel are not even appealed to as adequate and final directions to right conduct amid the strife of things. Not only is the Church neglected by many, but its very basis is called in question or ignored. Christendom and Christianity are practically put on one side by the eager disputants. And yet the Christian Church is, in its Ideal, a brotherhood embracing all ranks and conditions of men; the Gospel of Jesus Christ is the teaching of a new life in every relation; so that the question now arises whether the Church is acting up to her great commission, whether she is doing what she can to realise her Divine Ideal. Is it not her failure to realise her Ideal which is the secret of her lack of power?

To answer that question adequately is far beyond my powers; but I have a deep conviction that it is not good for mankind that the Religion of the Son of Man should be so much left out of account in social disputes or arrangements; that the Church is to blame in so far as she has set the example of neglecting the doctrines and precepts of Christ and His Apostles; that she is in need of practical reforms, by adopting which she might easily be made more adequate to her

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duties in the present day. In her present state she cannot meet the needs of the time.

The study of history shows that the Church of Christ has within her power a vast amount of well-doing which she does not attempt, and which she must overtake unless she would be trodden down in the struggle and hurry of modern times. This is true of every branch of the Church. Our present concern is not with one branch and its claims of excellence in comparison with any other. We seek to look upon the whole Church as it is seen in the New Testament—a free, active, and tolerant community, where every man and every woman has a special duty to do, and does it as a responsible unit and a member of the one Body of Christ, a redeemed soul seeking to accomplish a fragment of the Saviour's work in a lost world. We seek to trace the work of the Church from the beginning to the present time in various departments.

We shall try to avoid repellent or perplexing details, putting some of the more important discussions of disputed points in footnotes. We trust the pages which immediately follow this will be found useful as a basis of the subsequent chapters. Our aim throughout is to show that in the discovery and revival of functions, and not in the mere settlement of orders or grades, the Church of Christ will find the best means of doing Christ's work in the world.

We therefore try at the outset to realise what the Church of Christ was in the beginning of its history.

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The definition of the Church which most fully contains the teaching of the New Testament on the subject is the *Body of Christ filled with the Holy Spirit of God.* St. Paul and other New Testament writers frequently refer to this or imply it. St. Paul tells the Corinthian Christians that each one of them had been brought individually into the Church by the direct influence of the Holy Ghost.[1]

Furthermore, we see that the Holy Spirit was specially given to the Church before each successive step in advance. At *Pentecost* the Holy Ghost descended on the disciples, and until that day they had no power nor warrant to witness unto their Master (comp. Acts i. 8, ii. 32). The power of the Spirit set the little company of disciples free from *fear of the mob* of Jerusalem. That was the first stage of their freedom.

Another stage was reached when the whole company was freed from *fear of the rulers* of organised Judaism. In answer to the prayers of the Church "they all were filled with the Holy Ghost, and they spake the word of God with boldness" (Acts iv. 31), in defiance of Annas and Caiaphas and the rest.

Yet another outpouring of the Spirit sanctioned the *extension of the Church to Samaria,* Acts viii. 15-17. It was requisite that the Church should embrace not only

[1] 1 Cor. xii. 3, R.V. "Wherefore I give you to understand, that no man speaking in the Spirit of God saith, Jesus is anathema; and no man can say, Jesus is Lord, but in the Holy Spirit." This statement is prefaced with "Wherefore," and, as we see from the previous verse, it means, "I want you Corinthians to know how ye were brought from idolatry to the truth."

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Jews and Samaritans, but *Gentiles also*, and a marvellous manifestation of the Spirit of God led Peter to baptize the Gentile household of Cornelius. No step so momentous had up till then been taken, and Peter justified it by saying to the Apostles and brethren in Judæa, "As I began to speak, the Holy Ghost fell on them, even as on us at the beginning" (Acts xi. 15). His argument was that God, by the gift of His Spirit, added those believing Gentiles to the Living Body of Christ, so that an apostle could not withhold his recognition of their brotherhood. "Who was I, that I could withstand God?" (Acts xi. 17). The Council of Jerusalem soon after this accepted the Gentiles by formal decree, "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us," they said (Acts xv. 28).

Thus we see from the history that the Holy Spirit was, according to the Redeemer's promise, the abiding Comforter or Paraclete of the Church. He received the things of Christ and showed them to the disciples, and so led them into all truth. "With great power gave the apostles witness," and that power was the gift of the Holy Ghost.

For here we have to note that the Holy Spirit, who is thus the life of the Church of Christ, is not a mere influence, or aroma, or atmosphere, but a Personal Power. St. Paul in a memorable passage ascribes to the Three Persons of the Trinity their respective special functions in the building up of the Body of Christ, and each of them is spoken of as a Personal

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Distributor of gifts (1 Cor. xii. 4, 5, 6).[1] The Holy Spirit in the teaching of St. Paul, as in our Lord's words reported by St. John, is a Person.

The Corporate Union into which Christ called His people, that they all may be one (St. John xvii.), is the result of the working and gift of that one Spirit, "for in one Spirit were we all baptized into one Body" (1 Cor. xii. 13). In the Holy Spirit is our spiritual baptism; in Him is our nourishing sacrament. Hence we see that each believer is brought into the Body of Christ by the working of the Holy Spirit, and that the Body as an organism exists and works in virtue of the indwelling and quickening power of that same Spirit of God.

Thus we understand the meaning of the expression "The Body of Christ," which is the burden of the great Epistles of St. Paul—to Romans, Ephesians, Colossians, Corinthians,—and we see that it means the corporate union of those members, each one of whom has been joined to Christ, the Head, by the Holy Spirit.

The gifts with which the Body is endowed for the activity required of it are gifts fitting into one living

[1] There is one Body with many members, v. 14. The Christian believers are the Body of Christ, v. 27. To the whole Church various gifts are distributed by the Spirit, and various services are allocated by the Lord Jesus, and the various active exertions it puts forth are empowered by the one Living God each man receiving his portion *in order that he may minister to the common good.* The Apostle goes on to enumerate some of those gifts, and he names wisdom, knowledge, faith, healings, powerful workings, prophecy, discerning of spirits, kinds of tongues, interpretation of tongues; but he says, in conclusion, that these are allocated to men by one Spirit, distributing them according to His will, v. 11.

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organism. No member has so much of any gift as to be able to dispense with the service which the Body has from other gifts. Moreover, every gift is to be shared with the whole Church. For this end it is given. Thus St. Peter, "According as each hath received *a gift*, ministering it among yourselves, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God," 1 Peter iv. 10.

But, then, are there not men with a specialty in the Body of Christ? Surely, yes. The Body of Christ is composed of men with specialties, but those specialties are gifts bestowed on each to be used for the good of all. It is like the human body with eye and ear and foot and hand, all qualified and intended to do the work of the body. A Christian's "fruit" is not for his own behoof, any more than the fruit of a tree is. The whole burden of the Apostle's reasoning in 1 Cor. xiv. is that God's gifts to a believer are given for the sake of others. "Since ye are zealous of spiritual gifts, seek that ye may abound unto the edifying of the Church" (xiv. 12). We have not to deal with an unorganised aggregate of believing individuals, nor have we to deal with a body whose only unity lies in the fact that each of its members receives a portion of one Spirit. There is another unity, a unity of purpose, and that purpose is the glorifying of Christ, the Head. All gifts are for profit,[1] and that is the profit of all, the benefit of the fellow-members of the Body. But they are special gifts for all that; one after this manner, another after that. Their harmony depends on their not being con-

[1] πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον.

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fused, and as with the eye, the foot, and the hand, the prophet, the pastor, the teacher must each do his several work.

We have to note further that the membership or incorporation is not yet complete, because each member is imperfect. We are only members "in part,"[1] 1 Cor. xii. 27. Even thus early, when the ideal was bright and strong in the Apostle's eye, the Church is declared to be an imperfect Church, and the union of each of her members with Christ and with each other is only "in part." Eph. iv. 12 shows that all the functions were given for completing the organisation of the saints towards unattained perfection of service,[2] but that it is as yet only an approximation unto a perfect man, a progress in the direction of the accomplishment of the immense work of service which the perfect man will do.[3]

[1] 1 Cor. xii. 27, ἐκ μέρους. The R. V. translates "severally" here, but in next chapter thrice has "in part." We know "in part" and we prophesy "in part," xiii. 10. It seems best to give the same rendering here so as to say, ye are the Body of Christ, and each one of you in part (*i.e.* in some measure) is a member of Christ. The argument for translating ἐκ μέρους by "severally" in this verse is that it fits into the apportionment of offices in the following verses; God hath set in the Church apostles, prophets, and others, which statement would be introduced by this; we are apportioned members of the Body, each one according to his own place and function. There is force in this consideration; but, notwithstanding, it seems unreasonable to put a strange meaning on ἐκ μέρους merely to suit the context, and render it as though it were κατὰ μέρος, Heb. ix. 5.

[2] πρὸς τὸν καταρτισμὸν τῶν ἁγίων εἰς ἔργον διακονίας.

[3] "The Church of Christ is, according to St. Paul, the Body of Christ. And they who are entrusted with the care of this Body must keep it in vigorous health and exquisite beauty, using all circumspection that no spot or wrinkle or any blemish may in any part defile the Grace and Glory

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But it is perfectly clear, as matter of fact, that the Apostle did not believe that the goal of perfection is attainable in this life.

In this Body, only growing up towards the measure of the stature of its Divine fulness, there are specialties both of gifts and of consequent functions, which are not only in themselves distinct, but, moreover, serve to individualise the members of the Church who possess them. Thus we have in the New Testament two lists of functionaries or functions, and two of gifts, which are more or less formal, but which show, both in their agreement and in their divergence, how "manifold" is the wisdom of God. The longest list is in 1 Cor. xii. 28, where we read that God hath set in the Church

First I.—1. Apostles.
2. Prophets.
3. Teachers.
Then II.— Powers (miracles).
Then III.—1. Gifts of healings.
2. Helps (helpfulnesses).
3. Governments.
4. Kinds of tongues.

The other formal list of functionaries is in Eph. iv. 11, where we have only the first rank of the above, and with these changes that Evangelists[1] are inserted after

of it. In short, the business they have upon their hands is to keep the Body, as far as human power can do it, in a condition worthy of its immortal and ever-blessed Head." — Chrysostom on *The Priesthood*, Hollier's trans. p. 129.

[1] Philip, one of the Seven, was an Evangelist; and Timothy is told to do the work of an Evangelist. The Evangelist seems to have discharged some of the less conspicuous duties of the Prophet. Philip's own daughters prophesied.

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Prophets, and Pastors are named as equivalent to Teachers.

These are the only full lists of the functionaries of the Church of Christ. Presbyters and Bishops are not named. There are two lists of the gifts, one (1 Cor. xii. 8-10) we have already (p. 7, *note*) discussed,[1] the other (Romans xii. 5-8) partly blends this list of gifts with the lists of functions, and then runs into counsels for ethical conduct.[2]

When we compare those passages together we conclude that there is no rigid direction in the New Testa-

[1] Our purpose is to trace the working of the Church as a whole, more especially of the Protestant Church in Great Britain from the earliest days to our own. We shall be constrained to dwell most on the organised Church. It is not within our scope to record here all—or even many—of the Christian works done by individuals and associations not specially connected in their work with any branch of the Church. There are successful efforts for every purpose which come under this description. All the most powerful of them began under the rule and leadership of one gifted man. I should like to show how splendid have been the achievements of men of our own time in providing for the outcast, in training missionaries for the foreign field, in taking up orphans and providing a career for homeless boys and girls, in making it clear that wise kindness is often a cure for obscure diseases of body or mind. I could name a few of those best known to me; but a list at all approaching to completeness would occupy many pages. The one lesson they all teach is that the new wine of the kingdom cannot be poured into the old bottles of church organisation. But must the bottles be old?

[2] Rom. xii. 6 ff. Prophecy; ministry (deaconship); teaching; exhortation (comfort, in the same way as the Holy Ghost is the Comforter); giving (rather sharing one's abundance with others); ruling (*i.e.* presiding); showing mercy (doing the work of a compassionate friend); then love, brotherly kindness, humility. The rest, which partly repeat the foregoing, are purely rules for the social conduct of Christian men seeking to be Christlike.

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ment as to the functionaries of the Christian Church. That Church has varied gifts which may be described in varying terms, but with this one purpose and power —to have a healthy, working Body of Christ Jesus still upon the earth. Soundness, healthiness, is often on St. Paul's lips in his latest days. It has strangely come to be rendered orthodoxy, thus transferring its reference from the whole constitution of life to the mere intellect.

We have spoken of the gifts or endowments of the Church, and of the functions of such members as, by right of special degree of endowment, stood out from among their fellows. Is it not remarkable that the office or gift of Ruling is far down in some lists, and is not found at all in others? And when we pass from these lists to incidental or detached references to rulers or leaders in the Church up to the close of the canon of the New Testament, we find that their work is a function, not an office, and that such as rule are to be respected and honoured, only in so far as their function is well discharged. The Presbyters who are *good* Presidents or Leaders are to be doubly honoured, especially those that toil in word and teaching (1 Tim. v. 17); the same is put in somewhat different words when we read that the men who with toil preside in the Lord over the Church, and give good counsels, are to be exceedingly honoured and loved *for their work's sake* (1 Thess. v. 12); the first guides or leaders of the believers are to be gratefully remembered (Heb. xiii. 7).[1]

[1] "All these should take up these titles and names only (lest they be exalted and puffed up in themselves) which Scripture

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In view of her endowment and commission to be the Body of Christ upon earth, the Church of Christ ought to have held on her way, not disputing about office, but largely exercising all gifts and functions,—ministering, not ministered unto,—and yet what has she done? She has let the love of power grow masterful, and disputes about power or government have often swallowed up all other concerns. Jesus said that every disciple—and He said it to the Twelve—was to strive to be a deacon, a servant[1] (St. Mark ix. 35, x. 43 ff.). The first appointments in the Church after Pentecost were for service. The daily "diaconate" of distributing to the poor widows was handed over to the Seven, who set the Apostles free for the "diaconate" (ministry) of the word. The Son of Man had come not to be ministered unto but to minister. The Body of the Glorified Son of Man, in like manner, has for its aim the work of ministering; if it had any other, its functions would be different from His in the days of His flesh, and Christendom would not do the work of Christ. And yet it is almost all about governments, which are so low down in the list, that the Church of our day is divided. What makes the Christian Church like Joseph's coat of many colours but disputes about the forms of Church government? We are Episcopal, Presbyterian, Congregational,

gives to them, as these which import labour, travail, and work, and are names of offices and service, and not of idleness, dignity, worldly honour, or pre-eminence, which by Christ our Master is specially reproved and forbidden."—Chap. iii., *Second Book of Discipline*, General Assembly, 1578.

[1] διάκονος, δοῦλος.

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Methodist, and so on. And all this in a Church whose Head taught that service is everything, and government comparatively unimportant.[1]

[1] *Helps* or ministries come before *governments* even in the formal list in 1 Cor. xii.; and yet it is not uncommon to find the name "minister," which means helper or servant, regarded as less honourable than that of "clergyman." The Son of Man was a minister; He Himself came to minister; and His greatest Apostle counted it Timothy's highest aim to be a good minister of Jesus Christ (1 Tim. iv. 6). The simple fact that no one can regard our Blessed Lord as a clergyman, while it is natural to speak of Him as God's minister—the Holy House-Servant Jesus—shows how much higher function is than office, so much higher that we can ascribe to our Lord the function of ministering, while we cannot regard Him as belonging to an official caste. The word "clergy," as describing a caste of preachers, is not older than the third century. The attempt to find it in 1 Cor. xiv. 16 will not bear examination. In 1 Peter v. 3 the Presbyters are warned not to domineer *κατακυρεύειν τῶν κλήρων*: an obscure passage where the A.V. translates *κλήρων* by "God's heritage," and the R.V. translates it by "the charge allotted to you." The two renderings indicate two theories as to the meaning of the obscure word. Neither of them can be regarded as a translation. The word *κλῆρος* means a lot, and the plural makes a difficulty. Some say the word is used because the lot was cast at the appointment of Matthias; Jerome says it is because the clergy are in the lot or heritage of God, or, on the other hand, because God is the portion or lot of the clergy. In the Old Testament the people of God are said to be His *κλῆρος* or portion (See Deut. iv. 20, ix. 29, where the word is *κλῆρος*). On the whole the Apostle seems to be warning the Presbyters against domineering (*κατακυριεύειν* is a reminiscence of the Lord's own warning to the disciples, Matt. xx. 25, Mark x. 42). They are not to domineer over the several portions of God's heritage among which they labour. There are several portions, and hence the plural is used, just as we have sometimes "church" and sometimes "churches" in New Testament usage.

After "clergy" had come to mean preachers as a caste, an attempt was made to deprive the word of some of its stringent meaning by ranking under it officials of whose offices the Scripture makes no mention, *e.g.* the lower officials of the congregation. That again, except in the Papal Church, has passed away, and many now regard

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We do not forget that as the Church grew, the need of organisation became more obvious, and that at an early date leaders or presidents were indispensable if order was to be maintained. "President" or "Leader" is the usual name in the later parts of the New Testament and in early extra-canonical writings.[1] The Presbyters who proved to be excellent Presidents were to be specially "honoured," 1 Tim. v. 17, for their functions were becoming increasingly important. But this power of theirs was a personal gift or qualification; and in some who bore the name of Presbyter it seems to have been deficient. Yet they were Presbyters, and neither in the Epistles to Timothy nor in that to Titus, where the qualifications of Presbyters or Bishops are more or less formally enumerated, is this power of ruling or presiding named as indispensable. The most important were those who toiled to teach. Personal character, a well-ordered household, a power to teach, a power of refuting opponents—all these are insisted upon.

the clergy as a separate order instead of merely thinking of them as special functionaries. A separate dress for the clergy was enjoined in the eighth century. The coronal tonsure was prescribed about a century earlier. See Hatch, *Organisation of the Early Christian Church*, Lect. vi.

[1] We have ἡγούμενοι in Hebrews xiii. 7, 17, 24; προϊστάμενοι in 1 Thess. v. 12; προεστῶτες in 1 Tim. v. 17.

Thus 1 Clem. i. 1 and 21 speaks of ἡγούμενοι and προηγούμενοι, and Justin in his account of Christian worship speaks of ὁ προεστώς. Whether such a President was what is called a layman is doubtful. He would probably be a Presbyter, not always the same Presbyter, nor appointed for life. On liberty of prophesying in the early Church see Hatch, *Organisation*, Lect. v., sect. v., on one side, making it very open, and Lightfoot, *Clement*, p. 195, making it very limited.

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The chief stress is laid in those Epistles on the character of the Presbyter or Bishop. His precedence or prominence is taken for granted, but it is never defined.

Assuming that he was a leader or guide, we are struck with the fact that he was one of many. We never read of the existence of a solitary Presbyter or Bishop in a church or congregation. Of the qualifications of "a"—*i.e.* of any—Presbyter-Bishop we read a great deal; of his position by himself we read nothing. There were several Presbyter-Bishops in each congregation. What had they to do? Their chief function was to regulate the exercise of spiritual gifts in the meetings of the congregation. And the men who had that power to regulate were invaluable. Their function was not to repress but to guide. The whole Church—the body of the members—was the Body of Christ, specially developing one class of gifts in one congregation and another in some other congregation. The Corinthians seem to have overvalued the gift of tongues, and to have underestimated that of prophecy. But the Apostle does not address himself to any official when he remonstrates, and he speaks to saints and praying men. So in his other Epistles, only once (Phil. i. 1) naming Bishops and Deacons in his address or salutation, and even then adding them in the second place, after saluting the "saints" or body of believers. So St. Peter and St. James write to the people; Peter, indeed, in course of his letter warning Presbyters, as we have seen, against domineering. The seer of the Apocalypse addresses himself to some imperfectly

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understood official, called an "angel."[1] When St. Paul summons to Miletus the Elders or Bishops of the Church in Ephesus (Acts xx. 17), he addresses them as representatives of the whole body of believers, of the whole flock of God, among whom he had gone out and in, teaching them in private and from house to house.

It is clear from this passage and the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, how very considerable the development of the Church in organisation already was. That development, however, shows us also how free the Church was to adopt any outward form which could be a vehicle of her inner life and power. Those Presidents, Leaders, Presbyters, Bishops, always more than one in a congregation, how came they to be? Of their first appointment we do not read. Nothing is more clear, or in another sense more puzzling, than the origin of the offices in the Christian Church. They began when they were needed. There is no explicit mention of the origin of the diaconate in the New Testament; and even if it be granted that "The Seven" of Acts vi. were deacons—which is by no means certain—it appears that Philip soon passed from the duty of serving tables to that of an Evangelist. The working of God's gift within him led to a change of occupation, and in that capacity he is not called a deacon. There is no trace of the origin of Bishops, who were identical with Presbyters, as is now admitted by all men (see p. 22, note). Nor is there any mention of the first appointment of Presbyters; and it is note-

[1] See Ramsay, *Letters to the Seven Churches*, p. 69.

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worthy that the name suddenly appears in the Church at Jerusalem, Acts xi. 30, when we should have expected *deacons*, for it was in a matter of receiving and distributing money. Almost immediately afterwards we read of Barnabas and Paul that they appointed by voting (χειροτονέω) Elders to every church. There can be no doubt that Presbyters were from that time the ordinary officials in every congregation.[1] The relation of the Apostles to those officials was undoubtedly one of command and supremacy. Timothy and Titus had similar command—or at least initiative—as delegates or representatives of the Apostle Paul; but there is no provision whatever made or hinted at whereby the place of an Apostle or of his delegate was to be filled after the decease of those first men. The Presbytery would naturally perpetuate itself, but with what form of election we are not told, and men soon had not, as at the first, an Apostle or his delegate to guide them. There could be no second generation of Apostles, for an Apostle was one who had seen the Lord Jesus (Acts i. 22). Neither could there be any delegates afterwards, for there was no Apostle to delegate any one. Thus stand things when the Canon of the New Testament closes. The lately discovered book called *Didaché* (or Teaching of the Apostles), admittedly referring to an immediately later date, say A.D. 90, thus directs the congregation: "Elect unto yourselves

[1] Called also overseers in Acts xx. Dr. Hort says, "No one now doubts" that Elders and overseers in that address of St. Paul's (Acts xx. 28) are the same persons, but he argues that overseer is a description, not a title (see note, p. 22).

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bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord; men meek and not loving money, and truthful and approved; for unto you do they too minister the ministry of the prophets and teachers," c. 15. Prophets and teachers were evidently at this date in higher esteem than those ordinary local officials, who were even looked down upon. The *Didaché* accordingly adds, "Despise them not, therefore: for they are they that are set in honour among you with the prophets and teachers." Soon after this, as the divinely commissioned or specially endowed prophets and teachers died out, the local governors—Presbyters or Bishops—developed into admitted leaders in activity as well as Rulers, and Episcopacy, though not for some time Diocesan Episcopacy, took on the beginnings of its later shape.

Let us, then, look back over the first Christian century. We see the Church of Christ using its freedom to adopt or adapt whatever seemed best fitted to enable it to fulfil its commission to represent the Redeemer and to complete His work. From Judaism, in its oldest form, the Church took Elders (Presbyters), or men of experience who shared in government; from Judaism in its later form (*i.e.* the synagogue) was adopted the practice of Bible-reading and preaching, *i.e.* instruction as a part of public worship; and from the synagogue also, the practice of discipline, *i.e.* of punishing offenders by Church censure, and in extreme cases by expulsion. It has been learnedly argued that the Greek word Bishop, *i.e.* overseer, was adopted from

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Hellenic surroundings, the "Episcopos" (or a corresponding word) being the business-manager of Hellenic clubs and societies, so that the name naturally described to a Greek ear the overseers of Christian congregations.[1] From the feasts in idol temples came the Love-Feasts, consecrating in the meal of simple brotherhood that fellowship which in the idol temple led to the most hateful extravagance and corruption. The well-known *confraternity* (*i.e.* club) of Gentiles was adopted and consecrated in the brotherhood of the Christian community. The very form of the place of worship, when places came to be built for worship, was (as we shall see in a later chapter) a combination of the synagogue with the clubroom of Gentile societies.[2] The Roman Empire, or rather society under the Roman Empire, at the Christian era was honeycombed with guilds, corporations, and clubs, each of which, when strong enough, had its own clubroom, and in it a chapel for the worship of the presiding deity. It appears probable that Christians adopted some of those places of meet-

[1] The reference here is to the learned labours of Dr. Edwin Hatch. See his *Organisation of the Christian Church*. Public opinion was greatly influenced by them at the time these lectures were delivered. They have not been permanently effective. Dr. Hatch assumed that the President of a Christian meeting was permanent, an Episcopos, Bishop, like a Dean among the canons of a cathedral (p. 91). This does not bear on New Testament times at all.

[2] Yet we must remember that the ground plan of the earliest Roman church, discovered in 1900 in the Roman Forum, is modelled not on the Basilica or public hall, but on the audience hall of the wealthy Roman burgher (Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries*, p. 42).

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ing as they fell into disuse by the heathen under the growing popularity of the Church. At a somewhat later time, when Christians built their own places of worship, the buildings were of the clubroom shape—oblong, with seats of honour at the end. At a still later time, when the social feeling was less and the formality greater, the Church of Christ sometimes used, sometimes imitated—as indeed the synagogue had done before—the Basilica, or place of Justice, the hall of the Courts of Law, a form which we find in the great cathedrals and churches of Christendom to this day.

Within the Church of this period, as among the twelve disciples, quarrels and contentions were seen. The Church in Corinth, unruly and wilful in the days of St. Paul, showed itself still turbulent about fifty years after the death of the Great Apostle. There was in fact a general rebellion in Corinth against all authority: against the honoured and the aged and the wise, and amongst others against Bishops or Presbyters. The Church at Rome wrote a letter[1] to the Church at Corinth. Clement was the writer of the letter for the Church, and it is known as the "First Epistle of Clement." In this letter the Church at Rome argues that as the Presbyters or Bishops had been appointed by the Apostles, or other men of repute, in accordance with Apostolic fore-knowledge and pre-arrangement, with the consent of the whole Church, it was unfair

[1] The date is some time between Paul's death and the end of the century; most probably a few years before A.D. 100 (see *Canonicity*, page xi).

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and wrong to remove them from their offices in the Church, as had been done in Corinth. The whole letter is a strong brotherly remonstrance. It is as clear as possible from many passages in the letter that there were several men set over the Church of Corinth who were called Presbyters or Bishops—the names being interchangeable,—and that those men, while leaders and directors, had not the monopoly of exhortation or teaching. Of teaching indeed there is little said, though it is included in the functions of the appointed office-bearers, the thing in question being order as against anarchy.

"Ye therefore that laid the foundation of the sedition, submit yourselves unto the Presbyters, and receive chastisement unto repentance, bending the knees of your heart. Learn to submit yourselves, laying aside the arrogant and proud stubbornness of your tongue. For it is better for you to be found within Christ's flock, men of no account, whose names are upon God's roll, rather than being held in exceeding honour to be cast out from His hope" (Clem. *Ep.* c. 57; see also cc. 42 and 44).

Still, as far as it goes, the Epistle is a proof of the existence and power of Presbyter-Bishops in Corinth, and of the opinions of Clement and his brethren in Rome regarding their rightful position.

NOTE TO PAGE 18

The reference is to a memorable posthumous book of Lectures by Dr. F. J. A. Hort on *The Christian Ecclesia*, 3rd edition, 1900.

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Dr. Hort confined himself to characteristic minute examination of the New Testament. He says, "Of officers higher than Elders we find nothing that points to an institution or system, nothing like the Episcopal system of later times. In the New Testament ἐπίσκοπος, as applied to men mainly, if not always, is *not* a title, but a description of the Elder's function" (p. 232). In opposition to Dr. Hatch, he argues (p. 128) that the Christian Church did not follow Greek models. There is much in the book for which we may well be thankful; it is so clear and careful. But I find it impossible to follow its eminent author in several points. Notwithstanding our Lord's prediction of His one Church (Matt. xvi. 18, where "there is no question of a partial or narrowly local Ecclesia," p. 10), he labours to show that, even in St. Paul's view, the Church was local and limited—its oneness at first "due simply to its limitation" to Jerusalem (p. 227)—until in Imperial Rome the captive Apostle wrote to Ephesians and Colossians his great thoughts of the One Universal Church. This leads to much of what I venture to think forced interpretation. It minimises that unity of the whole church which is in Christ, and not only in locality (1 Cor. xii. 12). It seems to me inconsistent with his own reasoning in p. 118 ff. Dr. Hort has to say (p. 111) that the "difficult and unique phrase, Rom. xvi. 16, 'All the Ecclesiæ of the Christ salute you,' must mean the Ecclesiæ of Judæa." He holds also that all the offices of the Church, even among the Diaspora and the Gentiles, came from Jewish and "Judæan Christian precedents" (p. 230). This makes us unable to understand the rapidity with which a modified system was so soon afterwards found to prevail in the Church. Again, in arguing that the word *feed* (ποιμαίνω) used by St. Paul in Acts xx. 31 does not include teaching, except indirectly, he seems to overlook the fact, emphasised by himself elsewhere, that teaching, both in general precept and in fact, was a characteristic of those that ruled in the early Church. Not only in St. Paul' Pastoral Epistles is this seen, but in Heb. xiii. 7 ἡγουμένοι (leaders) preached the Word; in 1 Thess. v. 12-17 the leaders admonish; in 1 Tim. v. 17 the Elders have double τιμή if they labour in word and teaching. It is a great book, but not a final one. I feel constrained to say this, because otherwise it might be expected that the text of my book should simply adopt and follow the great critic's views.

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CHAPTER II

RULE ABSORBING FUNCTION

WE have seen from a Church letter at the close of the first century that in one church (Corinth) power was understood to be vested in a plurality of persons, called sometimes Presbyters and sometimes Bishops; and we have seen that in a contemporary document (the *Didaché*) the most important men in the estimation of some other church or churches were not Presbyters or Bishops, but Prophets, *i.e.* gifted preachers of the Gospel. The scattered churches or congregations of the Church warmly welcomed such preachers, who moved from place to place. They were usually called Prophets, sometimes Teachers, and probably in some cases still Apostles.[1] The congregation had chosen by election some of its own number to be Bishops and Deacons; chosen them for their moral and spiritual qualities.

[1] *Teachers.* There is great difficulty in outlining the work and noticing the disappearance of Teachers. The Prophet's work and way we can more readily explain. The teacher was of necessity more settled; his work implied that; but as all Presbyters were to be apt to teach, his functions were not indispensable. Origen pathetically struggled for place and position as a teacher, but in vain. See Harnack, *Ausbreitung*, book iii. c. i. §§ 3, 6.

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Those local men were evidently looked down upon in comparison with the mission preachers,[1] and the *Didaché* claims respect for them. But still it says, Give your first-fruits to the prophets, "for they are your chief priests; and if you have not a prophet, give to the poor" (*Didaché*, ch. xiii.).

If we went on to deal with the letters of Ignatius (A.D. 115?), which are said to have been written at various stages of his journey to Rome as he was being taken to martyrdom on a great "Roman holiday," we should see in detail that he had dreams of churches clustering round divinely accredited Bishops, every member with pains and prayer seeking to bring forth fruit to the glory of God. Unless his Epistles be treated as Oriental dreams, rather than as ecclesiastical photographs of fact, we see a picture of Church relationship quite different from what we get elsewhere. Into the endless controversies those letters awaken we cannot attempt to enter. Our present purpose is served when we have shown that—as we might expect—in three different places the Christian Church was not at the same stage of development, but everywhere was seeking to cultivate the seeds of truth sown all over the Roman world in Apostolic times. Not on the same lines nor tending to the same end. Thus much regarding the public teaching of the Word and the ruling of the congregation. We have glimpses of the inner life of the Church about the same

[1] "The Prophet was a kind of mission preacher ordained by no human authority" (C. Taylor, D.D., "Two Lectures on the Teaching of the Apostles").

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period in writings of heathen observers. Pliny, Roman gentleman, governor, and man of science, gives a picture (A.D. 111) of a Christian gathering in early morning with its hymns, its sacrament, its mutual pledges of each member to the rest to be never guilty of adultery or breach of faith in business; and of all gathering again at night to have a simple meal together. And all this in a region where heathen temples were deserted alike in town and country, and where markets for victims of heathen sacrifices found scarcely even a stray purchaser. Those were public facts: the elegant Roman put two deaconesses to torture and could learn no more.[1]

Some sixty years later the heathen satirist Lucian, describing the experiences of his hero Peregrinus Proteus, makes him take up the rôle of a wandering prophet or evangelist, in consequence of which he received from the confiding Christians all the best of entertainment his heart could desire. The picture is touching, though sketched with a scoffer's pencil. Not in Justin or Clement or Tertullian do we see the Christian community, its simplicity, unselfishness, and devotion, in so attractive an aspect as in Lucian's description of people, young and old, crowding round the prison gates every morning to bring their tribute to their poor brother (as they thought him) imprisoned for the Word's sake, while other believers in all the cities of Asia sent their contributions for his needs. The "Love Feast" and the

[1] See copies of Pliny's letter and Trajan's reply in *Canonicity*, pp. 362-4.

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holy teachings of the sanctuary were, with the connivance of the jailors, enjoyed by the Christians in the prison where the wanderer was immured.[1]

We gather from these brief notices in connection with the New Testament some idea of the varied functions and free life of the Christian Church; we have now to indicate their disappearance.

We therefore pass on to the end of the *second century*. We find a great change. It is now the stationary men, not the wanderers, who are paramount. The great Apostles were long dead, and their very name looked so great in the distance that no man now dared to use it. It was everywhere understood that they had no successors like themselves. There was still immense reverence for powerful preachers, but those preachers were stationed, and were reverenced by the community which they habitually addressed. Wanderers, under the name of prophets, had ceased to be respected. Evangelists, men who proclaimed the glad tidings, were still known, but their functions had been merged in those of the ordinary preacher; sometimes in those of the Reader.

The proceedings at an ordinary meeting of a congregation are significant.[2] Christians had begun to imitate the heathen and to treat their sacraments as "mysteries," open only to the initiated. All the officiat-

[1] See Lucian's narrative, *Canonicity*, p. 368 ff.

[2] It is difficult to describe the worship of the second century, so scanty are the notices. Justin Martyr's outline (of which we speak in another chapter) is bald; and, with some misgivings, I take the partial account in the Canons of Hippolytus, A.D. 230 (?), which are retrospective, as the main authority in the text.

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ing office-bearers were robed in white, including the Readers. Those Readers read aloud while the people were gathering; then the Deacon brought bread and wine; the Bishop offered prayer; the people received the Communion. The people presented their gifts and offerings. The Bishop prayed and blessed the givers. This was seen in the evening service. When the congregation met in the early morning the Word of God was read, Psalms were sung, and the Gospel was usually declared in a sermon, and prayers were offered for those who were seeking admission to the Church. To this service catechumens and even heathen were admitted. This marked the difference from the evening. Thus early in history there were grades in the Church and in its meetings. The evening meeting was for the instructed and pure members alone.[1] We have said the Gospel was proclaimed at the beginning of the meeting. Perhaps it was by a stranger Evangelist, perhaps by one of the congregation. But reverence for the New Testament Scriptures had greatly grown since the century began; and, instead of an Evangelist who preached, there was often a Reader who read the written word of inspiration to the whole people. This Reader was not a New Testament functionary, but was substitute for the Evangelist of an earlier date. There seems to have been one in every congregation at the middle of the century. At the end of the century he was probably regarded as a layman; and in order to invest his functions

[1] See Achelis, The Canons of Hippolytus, *Texte u. Untersuchungen* vi. 4, 1891.

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with authority and sacredness he was absorbed in the Deacon.[1] Thus the number of Christian functions was lessened, and the dependence on officials grew greater. Apostles and Prophets were now merged in the Bishop, Evangelists in the Deacon, and all the "helps" of the Apostolic sketch in one or other of those leading governors. Readers had come into vogue from the necessity of the case; not always as mere mechanical readers, but as preachers also in some cases. Still the rulers and managers had come to be regarded as the only necessary functionaries of the Christian Church.[2] The Common Love Feast, as in New Testament times and in Pliny, was still observed in the evening before the Lord's Supper; but it had not its original significance. The extension of the Church led to this.

By the end of the *third century* the process of change was well-nigh complete. The Bishop is now the chief figure, perfectly distinct from the Elder. When Paul wrote to Timothy, Bishop and Elder were one. Gradually the occasional President of the Church came to be regarded as permanent Bishop or overseer. Congregations at first were in towns or cities; it appears

[1] Harnack, in *Texte u. Untersuchungen*, ii. 5, pp. 42 ff., has a full discussion of the *Reader*. In Justin's time there seems to have been one in every congregation; though he was regarded as a layman by Tertullian, he was treated by Cyprian as a kind of apprentice to the Presbyterate (see Harnack, p. 62).

[2] For full examination of all the subject here touched upon see Dr. Lindsay's *Church and Ministry in the Early Centuries*. I regret that I cannot quite adopt his apparent acceptance of the *Didaché* and the Canons of Hippolytus as guides to the usual worship of the Church at a particular date.

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that when several congregations were formed they were regarded as one church. The villagers were heathens and called Pagans.[1] When congregations were afterwards formed in the villages they were considered inferior; they were grouped round the town in understood inferiority. The President of the Central Church was the superior of all the rest. Even when country Bishops were appointed, as the number of country congregations increased in importance, they were regarded as an inferior class—only allowed to preach and ordain under certain restrictions. The Bishop of the chief city in a province took the lead of all the rest;[2] and thus in the beginning of the fourth century the Bishops of Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria were counted the heads of the Church.

The Elders were now the advising council of each Bishop. They were seated beside him on a raised platform at the end of the place of meeting, and were possessed of many privileges, but with no recognised power of independent action. The Bishop was the unit to give the appended figures all their value.

The Deacon had also fallen back. The "Seven" were originally the servants of Christ, or of Christ's people, ministering the charitable allowance to the poor; but the necessity of providing sustenance seems to have

[1] Zahn, followed by Harnack, makes Pagan mean "civilian."

[2] A diocese was the central city or town with the villages around it. The greatness of the city naturally decided the rank of the Bishop. The Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381 (Can. 3), declared that the Bishop of Constantinople (New Rome) should have the chief rank next after the Bishop of Rome.

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soon passed away, and in the Acts of the Apostles we see that it is Elders and not Deacons nor "the Seven" who took charge of the money.[1] It has not been found easy at any time in any branch of the Church to maintain the Diaconate on its original footing of ministry of money to the poor. When the Church is filled with the Spirit of Christ the Deacon rises up into the Elder; if the Church is worldly or formal he falls out of sacred functions. Is not this in St. Paul's mind when he says that "they who have used the office of a deacon well purchase to themselves a good degree and great boldness in the faith which is in Christ Jesus?" (1 Timothy iii. 13). This seems to point at the Diaconate as a transition to something higher and better. It is the best defence of the Episcopal practice of making the Diaconate a kind of apprenticeship for those who covet the higher grade of Presbyter; but the Episcopal Deacon has nothing to do with money, nor has his training fitted him for business.

The Deacon in the early days was the servant of the people and the delegate of the Apostles. In later days he became the servant of the Bishop. At the middle of the second century, in Justin Martyr's time, there is a trace of his first functions in this, that he distributed the bread and wine of the Sacrament to the congregation, and then carried those emblems and

[1] Then the disciples (in Antioch), every man according to his ability, determined to send relief unto the brethren which dwelt in Judæa. Which also they did, and sent to *the Elders* by the hands of Barnabas and Saul (Acts xi. 29-30). This is referred to before, p. 18.

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elements to the poor and sick who could not attend in church to receive them. But the Council of Nicæa (A.D. 325) says that Deacons must remain within the limits of their functions, and remember that they are the assistants of the Bishops, and are inferior to Presbyters. They must no longer sit among Presbyters, for this is contrary to all rule and order (Canon 18). They were still regarded as a clerical order, but in an initiatory stage—apprentices. We may anticipate history and note the varied treatment of the Diaconate. In Rome there was an attempt to maintain likeness to the original office by keeping the number seven; and when more service was needed than those seven could render, a new order or class of Sub-deacons was appointed. Elsewhere—in Constantinople, for example—the number of Deacons was unlimited. We read of a hundred in one church. It was usually, however, a small number.

There is another office in those original New Testament lists—*the Teacher*. In the second century teachers abounded. In the third century, as we have seen, the famous Origen, as Lay Doctor or teacher, struggled for an independent place in the Church, but the power of the organisation at the command of the Bishop was too strong for the head of the Catechetical School, and Origen had to become a Priest that he might better vindicate his position in the face of the Church.

Thus went on the concentration of function in the hands of the few ruling officials. A Presbyter originally was a Bishop; then the single Bishop, as chief ruler,

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claimed the vital or effective power in ordination;[1] then the urban Bishop assumed the ordaining power to the putting back of the country Bishops; then, finally, the other chief Bishops were counted lower, and the Pope, as Supreme Power, became the arbiter of all functions and the fountain of all order in the West, overriding and overruling the Bishops and other local authorities of the Church as he overruled the local authorities of the State. Thus, in the Middle Ages, Wilfrid and Anselm in England, as the representatives of the Pope, each fought and won a battle, establishing the Pope's position as the sole channel of spiritual blessings in England. Collisions often came, but the stronger power of the Papacy always carried the day. For a time the Abbot of Iona was the supreme ruler of the monasteries in Scotland and the north of England. One of the monks was consecrated as Bishop, but it was only for spiritual functions, not for rule, and the Abbot of Iona was still the ruler. But when the Pope's power came into collision with the power of Columba's successors in Iona, the Roman authority naturally carried the day; and the monasteries of the north of England became subject to the Pope.

The whole Monastic system furnishes us with an illustration of the tendency of rule to absorb function. The monks were originally laymen. They attended the

[1] Not the sole power. Ordination is in Rome, and even in England, effected by a plurality; by a Bishop and Presbyters nominally; a Bishop is ordained by several Bishops, in ordinary practice. In Presbyterian churches this is the "laying on of the hands of the Presbytery."

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nearest church. They had no recognised place in the Church.[1] They had a work to do which began and ended with themselves; and they had to submit even in that to the power of the officials of the Church. When they attempted to teach or edify others, they were forced by the ruling priesthood to become priests, that they might have the right to exercise those functions.[2] Thus the priesthood eventually swallowed up the individuality of the lay monastic. Not that things remained in this shape for ever. The monastery or college of monk-priests, as it came to rule in a district, swallowed up the individuality of the parish priest. There was no resident parish priest near the monastery; one of the monks came out from the monastery to supply ordinances to the parish.[3] The monks, to secure their local independence, *i.e.* to resist the local Bishop's ruling power, clung to the Pope rather than to the Bishop; and they had their reward in privileges and immunities innumerable. The result was that the monks became the mere subordinates of the Pope, as the chief ecclesiastical ruler, and all their active functions frequently fell into abeyance.[4]

Something of the same was seen in the history of

[1] It was only at the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century that monks in general were considered a part of the clergy, properly so called. We then find that priests and bishops became monks, believing that by so doing they made a fresh progress in religious life.

[2] Guizot, *History of Civilisation*, i. 120.

[3] The parish was by no means the original unit. The Parish Priest had originally no official rights; he was the delegate of the Bishop.

[4] See Hallam's *Middle Ages*, ii. 215.

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the orders of Friars. When they began they had the most valuable of all Christian functions. They resolved to preach the Gospel to the poor: a much-needed and much-neglected duty of the ministry. St. Francis sent out preachers. He wished to carry the enlightened conscience of the people with him. He enrolled a Tertiary Order, pledged simply to holy Christian work without further monastic vow, and without abandonment of home or occupation; but all his Orders became a standing army of the Bishop of Rome, and made the Pope's despotism more complete than before. He had forbidden his preachers to have churches; but magnificent churches were built, and privileges were attached to them. His "brothers" became officials. He sadly saw his Rule of Love become political government.

This was the ultimate goal of Ruling in the Church. All functions absorbed in Bishop-Presbyters and Deacons; then the Presbyters made only the council of the Ruling Bishop, and the Deacons his attendants; then all Bishops only deputies or delegates of the Bishop of Rome.

But the Reformation came? Yes, and what then? The very same principles were soon at work. The English Reformation made as little change as possible in the relations of Bishops and Presbyters, but the Pope was ruled out and the King's authority came in. In the Lutheran Church we see the independence and spontaneous action of the Corporate Church subjected to royal or civic authority, and we do not find that individual office-bearers are regarded as part of an ecclesiastical body.

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Scotland is perhaps the best illustration of another system, because there the Reformation, like the first life of the Christian Church, sprang upwards from the body of the people. At first the Reformers, probably under the wise influence of Knox, adopted and adapted various forms of ministry suited to the temporary needs of the Church. Superintendents as superiors (who were not all ordained ministers when appointed, and were subject to admonition while in office), Readers as an inferior rank (who might read and preach but not administer sacraments) were used in the service.[1] But after a little while the Protestant ministers not only claim authority to overrule the King when they are in the pulpit, and to call him "God's silly vassal" when they are out of it, but they take away from the Church of Christ the whole of its varied functions and refer all functions to such as hold office. In A.D. 1647 the *Directory for Family Worship* says: "As the charge and office of interpreting the Holy Scriptures is a part of the ministerial calling, which none (howsoever

[1] The first Reformers were jealous of Superintendents becoming lordly. Spottiswood, when ordained Superintendent, said: "I acknowledge myself a man subject to infirmitie, and one that hath need of correctioun and admonitioun, and, therefore, I most willingly subject myself to the holsome discipline of the Church, yea, to the discipline of the same Church by which I am now called to this office and charge, and heire in Goddis presence and yours do promise obedience to all admonitions secretly or publicly gevin, unto the which if I be found inobedient, I confess myself most willing to be ejected not only from this honor but also from the society of the faithfull in case of my stubbornes; for the vocatioun of God to bear charge within his Church maketh not men tyrants nor lordes, but appointeth them servandis, watchmen, and pastors to the flock."

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otherwise qualified) should take upon themselves in any place but he that is duly called thereunto by God and His Church," etc. No man, that is to say, howsoever personally qualified, was allowed to explain the nature or apply the invitations of Scripture to others unless he were a regularly ordained minister. This is simple jealousy of any one except ministers expounding Scripture. One wonders where they thought they had Scripture for that! It is quite true that in enjoining family worship those "men of the Second Reformation" allowed the household to have a conference on the passage read, but none but those who were lodging under the roof or taking meals in it were allowed to be present.[1] To explain the Bible to a gathered few was the monopoly of Presbyterian ministers; and yet the household is invited to have "conference," *i.e.* conversation, and to "make some good use of what hath been read and heard." One can easily see that the strange hampering directions, and at the same time the encouragement to improving "conference," arose from a desire to honour the ministry, while allowing "the master of the family to have the chief hand" in the household conversation on the passages read. So also one can see in the end of the eighteenth century that the desire to uphold their own ministers and licentiates moved the General Assembly[2]

[1] "At family worship a special care is to be had that each family keep by themselves, neither requiring, inviting, nor admitting persons from divers families, unless it be those who are lodged with them or at meals or otherwise with them upon some lawful occasion" (*Directory for Family Worship*, § vi.).

[2] See Pastoral Letter of General Assembly, A.D. 1799.

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to shut the pulpits of the Church of Scotland against all other preachers; and to denounce Sunday Schools as enabling unauthorised teachers to teach children, thereby weakening the authority of ministers and lessening the sense of the responsibility of parents for maintaining religion in the family.

Until quite lately the same principles operated all over our land. In England Bishops, Priests, and Deacons were alone permitted to preach; and the activity of laymen in parish work was frowned upon. In Scotland ministers and elders ruled, but the ministers as chief rulers were sole preachers and speakers. Every part of the varied activities of Christ's Body was in some confused way supposed to be concentrated in, and expected to be discharged by, those two classes in Scotland, those three in England. The English Church has now instituted Lay Readers, whereby, with certain restrictions, the Layman can share clerical duties and burdens; its "Church Army" is an attempt on a large scale to organise the work of the membership of the Church for reclaiming those that are outside of ordinary congregations, and it involves the employment of Laymen to preach the Gospel to the poor. The Presbyterian Church, in all its branches, employs Laymen as city missionaries, catechists, Sunday School teachers, to overtake the arrears of work left by the ordained ministers.

There is much need in both parts of the kingdom for more effective means of training and testing those to whom is thus entrusted the primary, the most

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difficult, and the most blessed of all the functions of the Church. We may even say that if its importance were realised, no branch of the Church of Christ could entrust this function to the inexperienced, the imperfectly educated, and the untrained.

Another reflection is forced upon us when we look at missions to the heathen in foreign lands. The creeds of the Reformation are almost silent upon the duty of spreading the Gospel among the heathen; the hearts and hands of the Reformers were full of the work to be done at home. In the nineteenth century the Church awoke to the knowledge of her undischarged commission; but even yet the work is not properly distributed. The Gospel is to be sent to the heathen; then send ordained ministers. If they cannot be had in sufficient numbers, then wait till they come. This means that no man, however well qualified by gifts and graces and experience of life, shall be ordained as a minister of the Gospel among the heathen unless he has had a full curriculum at a university (in Scotland it is six or seven years long), spent for the most part in studies of no shadow of direct use for the work of a missionary.[1]

It may be said with truth that the Church of every name has gone far in allowing, we may even say recognising, other agents. There are teachers and artisans

[1] I am glad to say that this is now modified in practice. I know two cases in which the Church of Scotland has recognised long and faithful service in the Mission-field as qualifying for ordination; and the United Free Church "ordains" its medical missionaries without special theological training (note added in A.D. 1905).

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now sent to foreign mission stations working side by side with ordained ministers. There are Sunday School teachers, district visitors, lay missionaries, busy at home. It may well be doubted, however, whether enough has been done to incorporate those workers in the strength of the Church. Are all foreign missionaries enrolled in a council which directs the work of the agents and sends them forth as members of the Church in Antioch sent forth Barnabas and Saul? (Acts xiii.). There are said to be now no miraculous endowments of those thus employed in the work of Christ, which is technically true; but every converted man and woman has the miraculous endowment in the heart, and receives God's witness in the success of the work done. All such gifts ought surely to be recognised, exercised, and organised. Let the question of Orders be left in the subordinate position which it has in the New Testament; let the functions and activities be brought up to that prominence in which the Apostles place them; and then we shall have, as of old, every gift of every member used to bring us into nearer approximation to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ. There is no need to change the time-honoured names and functions of our Rulers. Let the Protestant Church have its bishops, or its Presbyterian Courts, or its Lutheran consistories: what matters it which? But if there be men among us who have the gifts of an evangelist, or of a doctor or teacher, or of a help (*i.e.* one who can minister to the needs of others in the spirit of many-handed helpfulness with which the

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early Church was filled), then there is a Divine call upon the Church to enrol those workers, to recognise them as well as their work, so that we may plead for the entire fulfilment of the prophecy of Joel, "I will pour out of my spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions: and also upon the servants and upon the handmaids in those days will I pour out of my spirit."

It was begun to be fulfilled more than 1800 years ago, but it is not yet exhausted of its manifold meaning. It means, as in the early days, that the Church is to be of an essentially popular character. Its Rulers are to be no conclave, meeting in secret, whether in Rome or in some Protestant city. It is not enough that they be a privileged class or caste discussing things "in presence of the public," *i.e.* of the reporters for the press. They have to carry the sympathies and suffrages of the whole Church with them always. "The Apostles and Elders with the whole Church"—that was the ancient formula on the most solemn occasion of a Church meeting since the first Pentecost (Acts xv. 22).

One is glad to notice how this idea of the Church is reviving in our time. Congregational Reports show its working in detail; Church Courts and Church Rulers know and show that they are bound to have the backing of popular approval. Episcopal charges are not edicts; they are in substance, whatever they be in form, appeals to the public opinion of the Church. The "Church Congress" is an annual endeavour in the

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Church of England to stir the hearts and inform the minds of the people; and its great success shows how wise was the conception. There is also growing up in the Church of England a strong conviction that the people are the Church, and must have a recognised voice in her councils—her local as well as her supreme councils. One of the most powerful of Bishops says in a remarkable volume of *Essays on Church Reform*: "To co-ordinate the laity with the clergy (and let it be said Presbyters with Bishops) in regulating the affairs of the Church is only deliberately to return to the primitive ideal of the New Testament and the purest Christian centuries."[1] Presbyterianism also is showing a new spirit. But Presbyteries must learn somehow to discharge more quickly, or to delegate if they cannot discharge, their merely formal functions as Courts of Registration, and to consider how best to help on the manifold work of all the members of the Church.[2] It is the era of the people's power; and the Presbyterian Church is the people's Church, or ought to be; and it would be, if Elders were chosen in sufficient numbers and were sufficiently in earnest about work to represent

[1] Gore, *Essays on Church Reform*, p. 8.

[2] Forgetful that our Church Courts are freely representative, and therefore express public opinion; forgetful also that members of the inferior Courts are to be elected, chosen, not to be sent in rotation, the Church of Scotland, instead of her selected best in each subordinate Court, sends men by sheer rotation to the General Assembly. That Church consequently is losing faith in her Courts and holding Congresses, which in the Church of England are needed just because there are no popular Courts, but are not needed in Scotland if we would give our own system a chance.

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a working membership. Elders ought to be chosen by the people; not nominated by their predecessors and the minister. The present practice of nomination of new Elders by existing Elders in the Church of Scotland is a grotesque survival from a troublous time. It does not represent the system of the First Book of Discipline at all, though it sometimes professes to imitate it. In some other Presbyterian Churches, *e.g.* in Wales, and in the Scottish Dissenting Churches, a popular vote seems to be the rule when new Elders are made.

We are not painting a baseless picture of the Millennium. Yet the present tendency seems likely to bring about that happy time. If the Church go on drawing out the experience of each of its members, much sweetening of the breath of society must come. It will soon be clear what work "sons and daughters," "old men and young men and maidens" can do, and those willing workers will be brought together, and, under whatever form of Church government, all the servants of Christ will be at one. No union can ever be effected by wrangling arguments about Church government, but it is no Utopia to believe that men under the influence of the one Spirit of God, seeing the fruits of that Spirit in other men, will no longer allow themselves to be severed by questions of Episcopacy or Presbytery, of National Church and Dissent, but will say there are diversities of operation, but one Spirit, and therefore one work.

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CHAPTER III

THE MINISTRY OF THE WORD—FIRST PERIOD

Preaching and Worship in the Early Centuries

WE have now to inquire how the primary function of the Church of Christ has been fulfilled in the various eras of Christian history. That function of Christ's Apostles in ministering the Word, and of all who take up their unfinished task, as it was of the Master Himself, was to preach the Gospel to the poor. Plato, who is said to have written a "human preface to the Gospel," inscribed on the door of his school, "Let none but geometers enter here." A characteristic of the Religion of Christ Jesus is that it has nothing to say to any favoured class of men. It has no special message of encouragement to the rich or the learned. "Not many wise men, not many mighty are called." Not that the Church which is founded by Him who was the highest humanity is entitled to neglect the use of anything that makes humanity greater, better, or more powerful. There have been no men wiser, mightier, or more noble than some of those who have served Christ in His Church and in His ministry; but

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it is notwithstanding true that their point of contact with their Master was in their poverty of spirit and purity of heart. They became as little children, and so they entered the Kingdom of Heaven.

We see this if we begin at the beginning. Even an outline of the history of Christian preaching must have a few words on the Preaching of our Lord Himself. Yet what can be said? No exposition is needed of the "gracious words" He spoke in the synagogue of Nazareth. They are a clear proclamation of what He meant preaching to be; they are an outline of His own work; they are a guide for all who seek to represent Him. "The spirit of the Lord is upon me: because He hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor: He hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord." After He had read those words of the prophet, He said, "This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears." So it was through all His Blessed Life. He preached to the heart, He lifted burdens away, He removed stumbling-blocks. He rebuked pride, but He justified the penitent and lowly. He recalled the joyful emancipation of the year of Jubilee when they "proclaimed liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants"; and He brought a greater Jubilee to the broken-hearted, the captives, the blind, and the bruised. To proclaim that spiritual liberation: to say that the "Prince of this world has been judged"; to speak of Jesus Christ

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as the Prince of life whom God has raised from the dead; was the commission given to the Church. He has received gifts for men: for the rebellious also: and this is His gift to His people.

The Apostles and early preachers fulfilled that commission. We do not speak here of the mysterious gift of tongues by which the early congregations were sometimes edified and sometimes perplexed; nor of the gift of prophesying, by which we are to understand inspired preaching. Those special gifts were not continued. But we speak of the addresses which have come down to us. Their sermons at first were like that first address in Nazareth. The sermons of the Apostles preached deliverance to the captives of sin and Satan. They pointed to some of those who were set free, and said, 'The Prince of life is the Mighty One whose name through faith in His name has made these men strong.' In all their sermons these two points are made clear, that Christ is risen to be a Prince and a Saviour, and that the great witness of the Resurrection is the Holy Ghost, whom God hath given to those that obey Him. They did not fail to show that they inherited and completed the Revelation made in older times, that they were children of the Great Light which Abraham saw afar off and was glad. This was mainly preaching to the Jews, as St. Paul in the synagogue, or when addressing the Jewish King Agrippa. "As his custom was, Paul went in unto them and on the Sabbath days reasoned with them from the Scriptures: opening and alleging that it behoved the Christ to suffer and to

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rise again from the dead; and that this Jesus whom, said he, I proclaim unto you, is the Christ" (Acts xvii. 2, 3, R.V.). This was after the example the Christ Himself had given on the road to Emmaus. St. Paul's message to the Athenians was interrupted. He had spoken of the Resurrection and of righteous judgment: he would doubtless have said to them, as he wrote to the Romans, that there is no condemnation to them who are in Christ Jesus, and so have completed his trumpet-proclamation of deliverance.

It was always of freedom Apostles wrote and spoke. We can see the substance of their preaching in their letters. "Ye received not the spirit of bondage again unto fear; but ye received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father" (Rom. viii. 15); the great freedom, the great inheritance—"all things"—are yours; "our light affliction is for the moment"; "all things are of God, who reconciled us to Himself through Christ, and gave unto us the ministry of reconciliation." The deep sense of sin which they awakened and deepened by their preaching was only awakened to lead to thankfulness that God made Him to be sin for us who knew no sin; and their call to the converts was, "With freedom did Christ set us free: stand fast therefore" (Gal. v. 1).

When the Apostles, whose relation to Christ and their personal commission from Him made them so unapproachably great, had passed away, it might have seemed impossible to carry on their work. But it was they who were appointed or authorised to commit to writing the standard books of the Christian Faith.

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The only books in our Canon which Apostles did not write were accepted by the Church as having Apostolic sanction and warrant. As authors, therefore, of authoritative books they have no successors; but as preachers with the human voice they were only the first of a series that still continues. It was designed to continue. The ministry of the Word was ordained and designed to be perpetual in the Church. There has been dispute as to which men or class of men were to be the preachers; but at all events preaching was the divinely sanctioned means of bringing the good news of God's Gospel home to the hearts of men. Christ came teaching and preaching, and doing good, and as the Father sent Him so did He send His disciples. If, therefore, the Church was to accomplish the work her Master had given her to do, she behoved to make constant proclamation of the Word by the lips of man. "Go teach all nations," said Christ. "The things which thou hast heard from me, . . . the same commit thou to faithful men who shall be able to teach others also," said St. Paul (2 Tim. ii. 2). In that early time every one preached who could, and yet there were men specially gifted, and thus specially commissioned to preach. All things were done to the use of edifying, *i.e.* of building up the Body of Christ for its manifold activity. And this ought surely to be the model for the Church in every age. We saw in a former chapter that Evangelists and Prophets went from place to place with no fixed duties, and no appointed salary, following as models the first Apostles, whose work they were continuing. And yet there were at the same

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time in every community men who as preachers habitually guided the devotions and moulded the thoughts of the congregations. By their side were other men whose gifts were occasionally exercised. St. Paul boldly says that those who serve the Altar have a right to live by the Altar, and he tells the Corinthians that when he was labouring so much in the Gospel for them he was entitled to support from them, though he had never used that right (1 Cor. ix. 7-15). Some have supposed that when he speaks of "honour" to good rulers of the Church, and double honour to them that labour in the Word and doctrine, he means to point to some graduated honorarium (1 Tim. v. 17). It is doubtful if the word *honour* has that meaning in the passage; but St. Paul's principle is clear that the labourer is worthy of his hire, and that he who gives his life to the Church has a right to his living at her hands.

But besides those who usually and those who frequently spoke, there was an opening for the occasional speaker. In every congregation it would appear that any man, when he felt prompted to exhort his brethren, was encouraged to speak. The "kindly custom of the Synagogue," "Brother, if thou hast a word of exhortation, say on," was thus adopted by the Christian Church. It is easy, however, to see how at first, and for some time, all the local speakers, whether ordinary or occasional, held a secondary place as compared with the Apostles, Prophets, or Evangelists, who were passing to and fro over the Christian world with their message.

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Ere long those wanderers were less regarded, and the resident office-bearers rose in esteem. Let us quote two notices. (1) In the Epistle of Clement (end of the first Christian century) we find that Presbyters were not only authorised to chasten offenders unto repentance of life (chap. 57), but were also regarded as ministers of the congregation (c. 44. 4), offering gifts to God. The words of Clement are, "It will be no inconsiderable sin if we thrust away those who blamelessly and holily present the gifts of the bishopric (episcopate)," by which last phrase we may probably, yet not certainly, understand the materials of the Love Feast or Eucharistic offerings, the alms with the prayers of the people. (2) In the old document already quoted (the *Didaché* or Doctrine of the Apostles, say A.D. 90), forms of Thanksgiving-Prayer are given for the Eucharist, and it is said, "Thus give ye thanks," but it is significantly added, "But suffer ye the prophets to give thanks as pleases them" (chap. 10).

We find the author of the oldest extant Christian sermon outside of the New Testament (2nd Clement), perhaps in the beginning of the second century, speaking of the admonition of the Presbyters as an essential part of the Church service. Yet, on the other hand, he himself appears to have used the standing permission for any one who had a word of exhortation to speak it to the meeting. There was still, therefore, freedom for a volunteer—perhaps he was a distinguished stranger,—but there was already the belief that the usual exhorter was a Presbyter of the Church. Justin Martyr in the

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middle of the second century tells us that all the proceedings of the sacred meetings were directed by the "president," and there can be little doubt that amongst those proceedings were gifts in kind for the poor, and the offering of materials for the Love Feast, and money for Church purposes. But those concrete actions were not all. He also led the prayers and thanksgivings to the best of his ability (there was no fixed form), and spoke the sermon. The first forms of prayer seem to have been adapted, as ours are in these days, to the case of those who were unable to pray without them. In these notices we may see the transition from the inspired prophesying of the Apostolic era to the practice of the age which succeeded. There has now come a simple congregational service with brother helping brother under the presiding care of the President. Thus we see that by the middle of the second century all ordinary ministrations to the Christian people were either concentrated in the person of the president of the day, and directed by him, or were exercised by others with his permission given at the time.

It is to our purpose to inquire what kind of sermons men preached at that time. We are apt from the Acts of the Apostles to conclude that all Christian sermons were expositions of the facts of the Redeemer's life, with proofs from prophecy, and illustrations from Old Testament History. But we must remember that those were missionary sermons, addressed to the hitherto unbelieving and ignorant. The preaching of the Gospel in any place

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must have begun—as in missions of our own days—with such sermons, to which were added "reasonings" in private with individuals or groups. This, we know, was the work of St. Paul, "teaching publicly and from house to house." But what were the usual sermons or addresses to the Christian congregation? From a very early time, as we saw before (p. 28), a division was made between the baptized and the unbaptized. The unbaptized, including the catechumens, were instructed both in the public service, and by competent representatives of the congregation in private, perhaps the "teachers," regarding the facts of the life of Jesus Christ; and what we call "The Apostles' Creed" seems to have grown out of an early Baptismal Formula in Western Christendom. We may be certain that it is a summary of the teaching given to the unbaptized.

But we return to our inquiry as to the address in Church to the baptized Christians. We must be prepared to admit that it was not usually an exposition of some Gospel facts or words—as our Lord's sermon in Nazareth was of an Old Testament passage,—it was rather what we should now call a discourse on moral conduct and character. If we look for a near approach to it in the New Testament we find it in the Epistle of St. James. The Christian facts are undoubtedly the foundation, but it is with the superstructure the Epistle deals. And the earliest sermons, outside of the New Testament, which have come down to us, resemble St. James rather than the Epistles to Romans and Galatians. The severance of the young and the un-

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baptized from the rest of the congregation naturally led to this remoteness of ordinary teaching from missionary teaching. We may see St. Paul himself in the Epistles to Timothy and Titus (if they are really his, as I believe they are) dwelling on the conduct of Christian teachers in the now partially organised Church, and, of all Christian men and women, without frequent citation or almost any exposition of Gospel history. About the year A.D. 90 or A.D. 100, say forty years after St. Paul, we find that the "Doctrine of the Apostles" (*Didaché*) is like St. James; and so to a large extent is "Second Clement," the extant sermon of some early date in the second century. This sermon, in its beginning, founds indeed on passages in the Gospel, and rests on Scripture, but turns to general considerations at its close. The speaker says: "*Therefore, brothers and sisters, after the God of truth hath been heard, I read to you an exhortation to the end that ye may give heed to the things that are written, so that ye may save both yourselves and him that readeth in the midst of you*" (c. 19). This sermon, probably "read" in Corinth, seems to be a combination of the two kinds of address. Yet it is not expository, nor does it deal with Christian facts. There is nothing in other early writers, so far as I know, to show that expository preaching on the New Testament was addressed to the Christian congregation. We shall see in the days of the great orators two hundred years later, say in the fourth and fifth centuries, that, as a rule, save in Augustine (as at an earlier date in Origen), we look

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in vain for what we call expository teaching. Gregory of Nazianzum, the greatest orator up to the time of Chrysostom, has left only one exposition among many orations. It is on Matt. xix. 1, and is in no way remarkable.

There was New Testament exposition in those early days, and very clear and Scriptural it was. But it was not in sermons. It was in books of controversy, and those books were written against heretics. The Gnostic Heretics, from the beginning of the second century, promulgated their systems with the claim that they rested upon Christian Scripture. They wrote commentaries on the books of the New Testament.[1] The defenders of the orthodox faith replied in books also based upon Scripture and largely quoting it. Those defenders tell us that their teachings, the orthodox teachings, are found in the ordinary traditions of every Christian Church.[2] We are not only warranted, but bound, to conclude that of the great mass of ordinary instructive Christian teaching the sermons which have come down to us are not representative. This must also mean that what we should call the most valuable teachings, now perished, were addressed to the young and inexperienced. Nor need this surprise us. Who

[1] We owe a great deal to the Gnostics. The first canon of New Testament Scripture was compiled by a Gnostic—Marcion; the first commentary on the words of any part of Scripture was written by a Gnostic—Heracleon; the oldest homilies or commentaries on the doctrines of the Gospel were written by a still earlier Gnostic — Basilides, who quotes the New Testament as ἡ γραφή. (See Charteris' *New Testament Scriptures*, p. 123.)

[2] This is the argument of both Irenæus and Tertullian.

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has not heard honest, anxious parents say that they were more largely benefited by sermons addressed to their children than by the more elaborate orations—metaphysical, theological, ecclesiastical, scientific—spoken to the adult congregation?[1]

In the middle of the second century, Justin Martyr, in the well-known passage already referred to, tells how the Christians meet on Sunday, and the "memoirs of the Apostles" (*i.e.* the Gospels) or the writings of the Prophets are read, as long as time admits. Then when the reader has ceased, the President gives instruction in an address, and invites the hearers to imitation of those good things. This points at a short simple sermon, founded on a particular passage—what we might call an expository application of the words of Scripture. It was no doubt conversational; and it seems to have been more application than exposition.

It is usual to say that Origen, the great critic, was also the founder of expository preaching; but it must not be forgotten that what he usually expounded was the Old Testament, which he treated as a matter of allegory rather than as a matter of interpretation. He goes off into allegory even when expounding a passage of the New Testament. Of his master, Clement of Alexandria, a few very interesting notes on some passages of Scripture survive, such as would in their

[1] Since this was written we have Harnack. "Mission preaching was fairly extinct after the close of the second century. Its place was taken by the instruction of catechumens and by the training of the household in and for the Christian faith" (Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity*, bk. ii. c. 1, p. 102, Eng. trans. (1905)).

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present form be very suitable for a preacher's note-book; but we have not their context. From references to him by other writers we infer that he mixed up his short comments with historical illustrations and traditions. One cannot but regret that we have no more, since what we have is so full of suggestion.

The later ordinary word to describe the Christian teacher's addresses was Homily; by which is meant not only an address to an audience, but an address which was an explanation and application of a passage of Scripture, clause by clause. But this definition does not apply to the oldest Christian addresses of the second century. They were more like the Anglican Homilies published for common use at the Reformation—a hortatory discourse on a doctrine or a virtue.

When we look into the better-known fourth and fifth centuries, the days of Chrysostom, Augustine, and Jerome, we seem at first to see things in many respects much as they are now. We see a few great preachers, and many very far from great, and we hear such complaints of the mass of them as are common enough in our day—complaints from friends, not from foes. But when we look closer we see this remarkable fact, that preaching—the chief duty of the Church—was supposed to be the primary function of the Bishop. Presbyters were not allowed to preach in a Bishop's presence, and, when the African Church allowed this to be changed, it was not so much because Augustine complained that he had no time left for study when he was kept preaching so continually, as because a Bishop

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(Valerius) was appointed who could not preach at all in the vernacular Latin, he being a Greek.[1] In Alexandria, Presbyters were not allowed to preach because the Arian heresy was in the air, and their discretion could not be trusted. The Bishop alone preached. In Rome neither Bishop nor any one else teaches in Church, says a historian (Sozomen, 7. 19) writing about A.D. 443. He perhaps means that there were no formal sermons, but his words are absolute. Pope Leo's sermons were a little later. Till the middle of the fourth century there seem to have been nothing that we now call sermons; the only addresses were probably extempore. There seems to have been more formal preaching in the Eastern Church. But the facts, which are striking enough—these are samples, and others to the same effect could be drawn from many quarters—show how long it was before the ministry of the Word passed from simple exposition and simpler exhortation to the carefully prepared orations which for about 1300 years have been known as sermons. Till Augustine and Leo in the West, and Gregory and Chrysostom in the East, acquired fame as public orators, the early expositions (simple, probably, and direct) seem to have been continued. Great power had, of course, been before then exerted by great men, and Athanasius was trained under the preaching of Bishop Alexander in Alexandria, and Augustine listened to the preaching of Ambrose in Milan.

[1] See Thomassin, *Vetus et Nova Ecclesiae Disciplina*, Venice, 1773, part ii. book iii. c. 83, § 4.

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In those fourth and fifth centuries the Christian Church offered the only field for eloquence. The power of the Emperors was too despotic, and Pagan society was too completely demoralised, to allow a political orator that freedom without which success was impossible. Nor were politics any longer the chief field for energy. The taste for mere rhetoric had become dull as men realised the eternal issues of life and death. The Christian orator was called upon to speak, and he alone had the ear of his fellow-men. Many noble specimens of Christian oratory have survived from those early centuries between the third and the sixth, their highest elevation being in the sermons of Chrysostom. How far the ordinary teacher was capable of even imitating "John of the Golden Mouth" it would be hard to say; but there were certainly numbers of men so incapable of original preaching, and so conscious of it, as to read the sermons of other men. Thus some discourses by Cesarius of Arles, but supposed to be by Augustine, became a manual of homilies, and were circulated through all the corners of the world specially for use by missionaries to barbarous tribes.[1] In the same way, at a later time, the

[1] *Cesarius of Arles.*—There are few more remarkable men than Cesarius. He was himself a great preacher, and his aim was to be understood by the poor and simple, even by the ignorant. He said that if he "expounded Holy Scriptures after the art of the Fathers," his teaching would feed only a few of the better-educated, and the rest of the people would perish with hunger. He therefore asked the upper class to listen patiently to his "country words." He enjoined that there should be constant preaching in village churches. He begged those who heard him to preach

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discourses of Boniface, †A.D. 755, the great English apostle of Germany, were used by the other priest-missionaries as their manual and model. Augustine (354-430) seems to have been grieved by the number of preachers who made their work a profession, instead of feeling themselves called to it by a desire to do good, and tells them that to speak out to our fellow-men the truth which has convinced ourselves is the true impetus to a Christian minister's life. He says, "Like as a father delights to become childish with his child and stammering out with it its first words, not that there is an intrinsic attraction in these murmuring confused utterances, though it is a happiness looked for by all young fathers, so it should be a pleasure for us as fathers of souls to make ourselves little with the little ones, to murmur with them the first words of truth, and to imitate the bird in the Gospel which covers her young under her wings, and is only happy when she is warmed by their warmth and can warm them by her own."

But how were men prepared to be teachers? Originally they were chosen because they were known to their fellow-worshippers to have a suitable gift of

his sermons over again to their neighbours and friends. If there were no clergyman, a deacon was to read one of the older homilies. And again, as to presbyters and deacons, he said: "If presbyters and deacons are allowed to read the words of the Lord and Prophets and Apostles, why should they not read the sermons of Ambrose or Augustine or of 'my insignificant self'?" Instead of Church singing being left to a few ecclesiastics, he induced congregations to sing, and urged them to think of the Psalms they sung, and to enrich their lives with the Divine teaching in the holy words. — See Thomassin, part ii. book iii. c. 84, §§ 1-6, and also Neander's *Memorials of Christian Life.*

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teaching. No man would long have prophesied if his neighbours would not listen, especially after St. Paul had forbidden more than one to speak at a time; and thus it was the Christian conviction of their fellow-members regarding their fitness that led to their acceptance as teachers of the congregation. Apt to teach—a Bishop must be that. Those fellow-members simply acknowledged God's gift.

In course of time there were schools in which the future teachers of the Church were taught. It is more than probable that when Origen was head of the Catechetical School in Alexandria, he was teaching men who, like himself, had no Episcopal station, to be pastors or teachers in the Church. Some have even gone so far as to see in Origen's struggle against his Bishop the layman's protest against the arrogancy of the encroaching priesthood. But inasmuch as then and always education was principally for the clergy, we may see in his school a means of training future ministers. Gregory Thaumaturgus commends Origen as having taught him philosophy, logic, physics, mathematics, general literature, ethics as the ground of all theology, after which he explained the sacred Scriptures. Ambrose introduced the study of Christian Ethics, and Augustine that of Dogmatic Theology and of the Philosophy of History, while to Origen, first of all, and to Jerome in the next place, we owe Biblical Commentary and Biblical Criticism.[1] Those who had

[1] See Ozanam, *Civilisation in the Fifth Century*, Eng. trans. vol. i. pp. 242-244.

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passed through a course of learning under such teachers must have been well qualified in respect to acquirements for any office in the Church. But considerable obscurity hangs over the question of their being tested or examined according to any general rule before admission to office or functions, and this obscurity deepens as the centuries advance.

There is an old Canon ascribed to a Council in Carthage, and probably dating some time about the fifth century, which says: "Before any one is ordained as a Bishop he must be *examined* whether he is prudent, teachable, . . . whether he is educated, instructed in the law of the Lord, careful in interpreting Scripture, trained in the doctrine of the Church, etc.[1]

Gregory the Great, who was himself a Deacon when ordained Pope, wished Deacons to preach, but he made them be examined as to the number of Psalms they knew by heart. Cesarius ordained no man a Deacon who had not read both Testaments.

But when Charlemagne (eighth century) began his reforms he found the ignorance deplorable. One man had been made an Archbishop who could not read intelligently. Charles exacted of Bishops that they should know the Psalter by heart, and ordered parish priests who had nothing of their own to say to get some other man's discourse and recite it. No doubt he would be expected to say from whom he borrowed it. That was the rule of simple honesty. One of the Councils of Arles ordered that a Deacon or Presbyter

[1] See Bruns, *Can. Apost. et Concil.* p. 140.

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who could not read, and would not learn, should be sent to a monastery. The Council of Toledo in A.D. 646 provided that no man should be allowed to lead, still less to inculcate an ascetic life, until he had passed with acceptance through the discipline of the cloister amongst others. The Council of Trullo in 692 (an Eastern Council) provided that the time of preparation in a monastery for the Anchorite's life must be not less than three years.

Laymen had little chance of preaching when even Presbyters were forbidden. But there is one Canon of a Council (*Carthage*, A.D. 398, "A layman may not teach in the presence of the clergy except at their command") which empowers the layman to teach if the clergy allowed him. Jerome († A.D. 420) says it was jealousy on the part of Bishops which prevented the preaching of Presbyters, and unnatural jealousy (as he says) it was, for a father ought to rejoice in the ability of his son.[1] It was his clear mind and the statesman-soul of Augustine that made the clergy preach the Word, and so raised them to their true position. And in the East Chrysostom said, "My priesthood is to preach and to evangelise. I offer this as my sacrifice."

In public worship the hymn was a means of edification. Possibly it had been so since St. Paul had enjoined it. Pliny (A.D. 111) says that hymns were sung (in alternate strophes) to Christ as God. Justin (*Ap.* 1. 13) implies that they were common in Christian worship. An ancient legend says that Ignatius († A.D.

[1] Thomassin, part ii. book i. c. 88, § 2.

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115) saw heaven opened and heard the angels singing in doubling chant (Pliny's *invicem*?) the praises of the Trinity, and thereafter introduced it into the churches of the East. At all events Ambrose, who probably introduced the chant, and was himself a composer of hymns (Te Deum?), did a great deal to raise this part of the service as a means both of worship and of teaching. The instructive hymn was an important part of worship in those days. Even rhyming couplets and hymns began to be used at this time, and were more easily remembered by the common people. As Moses, the man of God, moulded the national character by his great song, and as David raised the heart of the people by his Psalms, and the good kings of Judah taught the nation to sing the praises of God, "whose mercy endureth for ever," so the Christian Church for many centuries taught the people sacred history and sacred doctrine, and elevated their personal faith, by hymns and spiritual songs, some of which are with us unto this day.

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CHAPTER IV

MINISTRY OF THE WORD—SECOND PERIOD

Monastic System. Friars. Reformation.

WE naturally ask in how far the monastic system of the fourth century and thereafter was the ministry of the Word. If the ordinary clergy had been active preachers and pastors, and competent for their duties, the monastic system would probably never have become so popular. As things were, monasticism spread with a rapidity to which there is no parallel. It is said that St. Pachomius, who founded the Cœnobitic mode of life (*i.e.* when the monks lived together), had under his jurisdiction before his death nearly 7000 monks, and that in the desert of Nitria alone there were 5000; both of those early in the fourth century. A little later, in Jerome's time, there are said to have been 50,000 monks who assembled at the Easter festivals.[1] The chief hold of monasticism upon the popular imagination and sympathy was due to its origin in the hermitage or solitary life, and in the self-denial, con-

[1] See, however, Butler, Cambridge *Texts and Studies*, vol. vi. 2, p. 210, where these figures are much modified. There still remain, however, 3000 Tabennesiot monks, with 600 at Pabau in A.D. 350, and 7000, with 1300 or 1400 at Pabau, in A.D. 410, according to "the best information we can get on the subject."

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sistent with this origin, which always marked it. Pagan society had known little of self-denial except in so far as the principles of the Stoics prevailed, and Stoicism had never been popular. There was something inconsistent in the life of the greatest Stoics,—of Seneca, for example,—when compared with his own published writings, for he had multitudes of slaves. Even Christianity, no longer chased into dens of the earth by persecution, ceased to draw the imaginations of common men. The first effect, then, of monasticism was to raise the standard of holiness, men's ideal of religion. The lowly Anchorite, who gave up all for God, and went away to a life of solitude that he might thereby climb to heaven, became a centre of wonder and regard. And even when, for purposes of mutual help, those religious devotees accepted a common rule and dwelt together, the halo of romance was round their order. The common priest was a man among other men, dwelling oftentimes in his own home, and to some extent mixed up with the concerns of the ordinary world—many of them were in all ages married men—but those monks had left themselves none of the comforts of kindred, or possessions, or home, and therefore they were reverenced as a higher race of beings. The very word "religion" came to mean the monastic vow, the "religious clergy" were the monks, the others were called the secular clergy. Under whatever restrictions an ordinary priest might marry, or retain his marriage tie if previously formed, he was regarded as a man who mortified the flesh less than the celibate

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monk. In all Christian countries, in all ages till Hildebrand changed the practice, the parochial clergy frequently lived as married men, whether in defiance of their Bishops or with their connivance. The Councils were greatly occupied with laying down laws on the subject.[1] Even the inferior orders of the clergy were under law upon it. A Reader or a singer was allowed to marry if he did not take unto him a heterodox wife! (Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, Can. 14).[2] So late as the reign of Henry I. of England it is said that the greater and better part of the clergy were married, and the king permitted them to retain their wives. But a married priest was not so honoured as a celibate monk. Many of the wisest Bishops therefore adopted for themselves a practically monastic life, Augustine and his clergy, for example, living together in the Clergy House lest their office should be little esteemed in comparison with the lives of the monks around them. But such devices did not avail, and the monks, who at first, though styled religious, were regarded as laymen, soon assimilated to themselves the whole priesthood.

[1] Some early historians say that the Council of Nicæa desired to enjoin celibacy. But there is much doubt about the rules. Priests were forbidden to marry; but married Bishops are mentioned in the Apost. Canons. A synod at Orange (A.D. 441) decreed that married men shall not henceforth be ordained Deacons unless they have previously vowed chastity. Gregory of Nazianzum was born while his father was Bishop, and there was also a younger son, Cesarius.

[2] Gregory the Great, *Ep.*, book xi. 64, had given permission to Augustine on his mission to England to let clerics outside of sacred orders marry. In iv. 27, he forbids a fee to be taken "for ordination or marriage of clerics," or from "virgins who are veiled."

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But our concern is with the ministry of the Word, and not with the lives of priests and monks. How, then, were the vast hordes of monks related to the ministry? It is said that the number of monks of both sexes in the end of the fourth century exceeded that of married people, and in the year 400, Vigilantius not unnaturally asked if all were in the cloisters who were to serve the Churches, exhort the worldly, and convert sinners? The answer to that question was given by the monks themselves undertaking all those duties, and soon both bishops and parish priests were denizens of the monastery itself. In the sixth century it was found that the romance was losing its charm. The lowest of the people were taking refuge in monasteries; men fled from public duties to the indolence of the cloister; and, instead of the high aims in which the Orders were founded, the monks gave their lives to petty observances, to vain repetitions, and to continual bickering among themselves. Benedict of Nursia accordingly, about A.D. 529, added to the two rules of humility and chastity the third rule of labour, whereby the monks were made probably not less spiritual, and certainly more powerful pioneers of civilisation. He also enjoined study. The monks were henceforth not only the teachers of the people in spiritual things, but their instructors in manual labour, in methods of agriculture, and in all handicrafts. Idle monks had never been so prevalent in Europe as in Africa and Asia. Labour was easier in the European climate than in the other quarters of the Christian world, and accordingly from this time onwards

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it was in Europe that the monastic system, as being most useful, was also most powerful. Monks were the schoolmasters of the young, the instructors of the middle-aged, and their high walls were towers of refuge for the persecuted and oppressed. Privileges were granted to them and to their tenants which brought around them the best workmen and the best farmers of the nation. Their tenants had a secure possession of the fields they tilled; they were usually exempt from the calls of military service; their monastery was free from ordinary taxes, and as it was often wisely planted in a soil which was naturally most capable of improvement, the precincts were like gardens of Eden in the wastes of feudal desolation. "The Benedictines were the agriculturists of Europe" (Guizot).

We must not, however, speak of them as if they were merely the stationed preachers of an old-established faith. The monks were also the missionaries of the Middle Ages. Columban, who civilised the mountaineers of Southern France; Boniface, who turned the hordes of Germany to the faith; Augustine, who brought Southern England into the Church, and St. Columba of our Scottish Isles, occur to every one as the grandest of missionaries in an unlikely time. It is needless to dwell upon the work which Columba did, but in one respect he showed himself superior to the prejudices of his time. He admitted the importance of Episcopal order, but he was too wise a man to identify Episcopal orders with ministerial functions, and he himself, simply Abbot of Iona, was the head of every mission and of every

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monastery founded by his monks, while nevertheless amongst those monks there was usually found a Bishop to confer Episcopal ordination.[1] He and his missionary monks, the leaders of the various bands, represented the Apostles or wandering Evangelists of whom we read in the earliest records, while Bishops and Priests might represent the officials of detached congregations.

Perhaps there is something democratic in the ecclesiastical air of Scotland, and when we find Alexander III. refusing to obey the Pope in the matter of tribute for a senseless crusade, we may remember that Scottish Churchmen inherited through Columba a tradition which tested the Church by its usefulness rather than by its orders, so that the dignity of the Pope, who was a distant official, was less sacred in their eyes than in those of most of their contemporaries.

I do not know anything which throws so much light on the nature and extent of the parish priest's work as Bede's letter to the Bishop of York: "Your diocese is too extensive to permit you to visit all the hamlets and all the out-of-the-way little places in it every year. You must obtain coadjutors by ordaining Presbyters and appointing teachers (doctors), who by preaching the Word of God in every village, by celebrating the divine mysteries, and, above all, by baptizing, will press on wherever they have opportunity. Especially, in the course of preaching, see that all under

[1] Only one Bishop was needed for the consecration of another Bishop in the Scottish Church (Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii. pp. 22-157).

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your rule thoroughly know by heart and sedulously chant the Catholic faith as contained in the Apostles' Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. Make those who do not understand Latin be able to chant these in their own language; and this I say not only for the laity but also for the clerics or monks who do not understand Latin. It is especially for the use of those uninstructed priests that I have translated the Creed and the Lord's Prayer into English. If your pastoral authority accomplishes these things in ruling and feeding Christ's sheep, it is impossible to say how great will be your reward above from the Shepherd of shepherds—all the greater that examples of this most sacred work are rare among the bishops of our nation" (see Bede's *Works*, Plummer's edition, vol. i. p. 408, abridged).

One often wonders how their minds were fed, and light is thrown upon the subject by some incidental notices in the history of Anselm. One day in the year was set apart for the general restoring and changing of books. A note was kept of those who got the books, and of those who professed to have read them. A book a year seems to have been the allowance, and this kind of circulating library in the monastery of Bec shows some systematic cultivation of the minds of the monks.

The monks, too, were an abiding link between various classes of society. There might be found side by side in adjoining cells the slave who had escaped the yoke, and the king who had laid down his crown, to become the inmate of the cloister (compare Guizot, *History of Civilisation*, i. 109). The abiding evil of the whole

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system was that it tended to concentrate men's regard upon themselves, and their own growth in Christian knowledge and life, as though by shutting the monastery door behind them they were removed from duties to those around; and as they grew in power they seem to have become remiss in active work amongst the people.

The feast might be spread for all who came, but the monks did not go to the highways and hedges to bring them in. St. Bernard, in his attempt to reform the whole system, denounced the evils of his time, so that we see what the prevailing faults were in his day. He speaks with scorn of monks who sent away from table their half-emptied glass three, four times, until they got a wine strong enough for their palate, which they quick and sure did decide upon. He also says with horror that he has seen an abbot with sixty horses and more in his train, so that if you saw such grandees passing by you would call them, not the fathers of monasteries, but the lords of castles, not the rulers of souls but the princes of provinces (*Apol. ad Gulielmum*, cc. 9, 11). "Schoolboys and beardless youths, whose birth is their only merit, are promoted to ecclesiastical dignities,[1] . . . and rejoice more that they have escaped from the rod than that they have deserved a chief place." The clergy themselves "do not feel the burden of their office, but are always seeking new burdens. . . . Is he

[1] Compare Hallam, "A child of five years old was made Archbishop of Rheims. The see of Narbonne was purchased for another at the age of ten. It was almost general in the Church to have Bishops under twenty years old." See *Middle Ages*, ii. 175.

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a bishop? He then wants to be an archbishop. Has he attained that? He then dreams of I know not what still higher, and by toilsome journeys and costly intimacies seeks as he hangs about the Court at Rome to purchase friendships out of which he may make gain."[1] Thus it was that through power, and ambition for greater power, the monastic system ceased to rule men. A rather cynical observer says that few men who are not either priests or monks would not have preferred to live in the best days of the Athenian or of the Roman Republics, in the age of Augustus or in that of the Antonines, rather than at any period that elapsed between the triumph of Christianity and the fourteenth century (Lecky's *History of European Morals*, vol. ii. p. 16, 9th ed. 1890). Milman somewhere says that "A.D. 100-180" was, according to many, the happiest period of human history.

Amid the confusion arose, in answer to the cravings of the heart of man, the order of FRIARS. They were the preachers to the people. For many a century the people had been only objects of priestly or monastic care. They had no initiative and no power in ordering the things of the Christian community. There was much done for them. It never entered into their minds that they could do anything for themselves. "The clergy overawed the people through their superstitious terror of their power" (Sabatier, *St. Francis*, p. 32). Thus it was that the common people of the Church had ceased to possess any independent power, or even to be much considered;

[1] Bernard, *De officio Episcoporum*, vii. §§ 25 and 27.

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and the bursting forth of mendicant orders was in its essence an attempt to bring the religion of Jesus Christ into direct contact with the people. St. Francis of Assisi[1] wanted his friars to have no monastery, no stately buildings, no possessions of their own, to be simply men preaching from house to house the unsearchable riches of Christ, and sustained by their own labour (for that was his original intention, and he repeats it in his Will), or by the free-will offerings of those to whom they brought the Gospel. Not only did Francis found an order of friars who were thus to go to and fro like Christ and His disciples over the again almost heathen world, but by the promulgation of his famous Tertiary vow he brought the mass of Christians into the ranks of "religious" people, although they never left home or friends to be monks or friars. The vow of the Third Order, the Tertius of Francis, which drew the King of France, and his wife, and his mother, and all ranks below to it, was simply a vow to keep God's commandments and to live a penitent Christian life.[2] No words can tell the change which the attitude of Franciscan Friars made upon the common conscience of Christendom. The new order called upon the

[1] His contemporary, St. Dominic, was less original, and indeed was an agent of the Papacy, trying to reform existing monastic orders.

[2] "I promise and vow to God, the blessed Virgin, our Father Saint Francis, and all the Saints of Paradise, to keep all the commandments of God during the entire course of my life, and to make amends for the sins I have committed against the rule and manner of life of the order of Penitents instituted by Saint Francis according to the will of the visitor of that order when I am admitted into it."

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preachers to preach so that the people would understand them.[1] It called upon the people to make a response in their own daily life. Surely the very germs of the Protestant Reformation are found in these things. But it was far more than that. It was a return to the example of our Lord Himself. It was an enormous revolution. Its basis and central principle was that the old order was worn out and must give place to the new; that monks and priests were not preaching; that the Church did not hold the heart of men. It seems as though it were the Wesleyanism of the dark ages. We watch it curiously to see what will come. Shall the old Church cast it out? Will the Pope stand by the bishops and the clergy and say, Those other men are not needed; we

[1] The spirit in which Francis wished all his preachers to go was humble love. "Set forth" (he said to the Brothers who accompanied him to France in A.D. 1217), "and walk two and two, humble and gentle, keeping silence until after tierce, praying to God in your hearts, carefully avoiding every vain or useless word. Meditate as much while on this journey as if you were shut up in a hermitage or in your cell, for wherever we are, wherever we go, we carry our cell with us; Brother body is our cell, and the soul is the hermit who dwells in it, there to pray to the Lord and to meditate" (Sabatier, *Life of Francis*, p. 208; French (5th) ed., p. 237).

One of his frequent counsels was, "Our life in the midst of the world ought to be such that, on hearing or seeing us, every one shall feel constrained to praise our Heavenly Father. You proclaim peace; have it in your hearts. Be not an occasion of wrath or scandal to any one, but by your gentleness may all be led to peace, concord, and good works" (*Ib.*, chap. x. p. 169; French ed., p. 192).

When one reads the words of Francis it is impossible to doubt that his original purpose was high and pure, though the Pope and Cardinals afterwards modified it; and that their manipulation during the last years of his life, and after his death, greatly changed his Brotherhood from what he meant it to be.

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shall crush them? Nay, that was what the Church of England tried to do with Wesleyanism, what the Church of Scotland tried to do with the Haldanes and Sunday Schools; what some presbyteries, even after all the evidence of God's blessing, have tried to do with lay Evangelists in our time; but Rome in her wisdom spread her arms to embrace the friars, and won thereby for herself a new lease of life. Through those bare-footed, rope-girdled, cowled men she preached the Gospel to the poorest of the poor. Rome even adopted Francis and his Orders, and thereby helped the Papacy more than the people. But much of Francis's original purpose remained.

Doubtless, wicked human nature asserted itself in the Orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic; lazy mendicants in crowds over Europe bore the name of the eager, bright ascetic of Assisi; cruel inquisitors tortured simple believers, and thought they were thereby proving themselves the true followers of St. Dominic. The resources of Italy were eaten up, and the life of Spain was strangled, by those Orders that began so nobly, but still the impulse Francis and Dominic gave to human progress remained when they themselves had ceased to lead it. When the men were visibly worse than the theory; when heaven and earth were offered for sale; when the rich man's money was supposed to be valued at the gates of the Kingdom more highly than the poor man's contrite heart; when authority arrogated power over truth, then Luther nailed up his Theses in Wittenberg, and a new era began.

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All the Reformers in the measure of their powers cast themselves on the common people, not as Francis had done, to bind closer the yoke of Rome, but now to throw off the domination of the priesthood. The purpose of the Reformers was to preach the Word to all men, throwing upon the common hearer responsibility for his belief and the conduct to which it pledged him. Their mission was, "We speak as unto wise men; judge ye what we say," and thus the ministry of the Word acquired a directness, simplicity, and force which it had not known for ages. Human traditions and legends were necessarily swept away when men wanted to teach again with authority, and the Bible was extracted from beneath a heap of churchly traditions that had long overlaid it. Justification by faith meant the development of a responsible man before God and his fellowmen, so that he could no longer take creed or conduct at the bidding of any other than the Divine Spirit of God Himself. No words are adequate to express our sense of the vital and unspeakable beneficial change thus brought upon the ministry of the Word.

Nevertheless, the seeds of an evil were here also. Again, as in the early Church, the men who held powers of government were supposed to absorb in themselves all the functions of the body of Christ. If in Scotland Knox's provision of a yearly election of Elders had remained in force, the body of the people would not have been separated so far from the ecclesiastical rulers as they are. There would always have been in the parish a large force of trained militia besides those

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who were actually serving in the regular army. But the election of Elders for life soon changed that, and the exclusion of Elders from the action of the court when ministers are ordained completed to a large extent the demarcation of a clerical caste. It only remained that the ministers should be supposed capable of doing all that needed to be done, and when this was thoroughly mastered, as it soon was, a reign of dreariness was duly inaugurated under which Scotland was chilled to the heart. Not that it was peculiar to Scotland that chill; it was a Glacial Epoch over Christendom; but when the ice broke up, there was felt the conviction that the ministry of the Word demanded service from men and women as members of the Church, demanded too that Christendom should send forth the Lord's labourers to the wide harvest-fields of the heathen world. And that new conviction of the end of the eighteenth century is the moving power of the Church in these days of ours.

What, then, are the lessons to which our long course of inquiry has brought us? *First* of all the familiar one, that the *ministry of the Word is more than preaching the Word.* When of old time

> The Word took breath and wrought
> With perfect hands the Creed of creeds,
> In loveliness of perfect deeds
> More rich than all poetic thought,

He was not only preaching but doing the work of God for the salvation of men. The Church that is His body is called upon not only to speak but to do—to do

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all the many things that are possible as help to the brethren that are in Christ. While it is right and reasonable that certain men should be set apart to preach the Gospel, it does not follow now, any more than in the first ages, that he who is so set apart shall have a monopoly of preaching. He gives his life to it, and he should live by it, but he needs in many cases to have auxiliaries in it. Furthermore, in these days of ours, when congregational activities are multiplied, it is clear that if a man is to have time for study and preparation he must not be left to superintend every detail of those activities. There are men and women in every congregation who can, better than he, direct the schools and charities, and as well as he minister to the sick and anxious. Not to spare him but to take order that all the work be done. The clergy should be the crown of a column, the first of many like-minded, not a separate caste. A man who lives amid the whirr of a thousand wheels cannot hear the voices of nature, nor can he have peace to understand the calm majesty of the Kingdom of God. Yet all that work must be done and must be multiplied.

> The voice comes down to listless lives,
> To Selfishness disguised in gentle names
> Of peace and quiet and domestic love,

and it says, Awake, O sleeper, and call upon thy God and say, "Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do?" And if we awake in a spasm of exceptional conscientiousness, we are not to call for more clergy, but ourselves to look for more work. The idea that ministers and people

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should be like each other, not in virtue of the minister coming down but by the people rising up, has danced as an ideal before eager men in many ages. Once it took the form of giving the tonsure to many who were not priests or monks, but hoped one day to be, as though a shaven crown were a coronet that it was good for many men to bear. At another time it led to the founding of the orders of friars to bridge the gulf between the lives of men and the lives of monks, and the Tertiary vow of Francis was a further step in the same direction. We have seen that John Knox made Elders for one year, that many might be or have been Elders. The more excellent way, however, is to look for and recognise the gifts of men as God's gifts to the Church.[1]

We sometimes speak of St. Paul's lists, but St. Peter's is in this connection as noteworthy: "According as each hath received a gift, ministering it among yourselves, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God; if any man speaketh, speaking as it were oracles of God; if any man ministereth, ministering as of the

[1] Boniface, the great English Apostle of Germany, who was a ruler of men, shows us how he directed his subordinates to accomplish the grand purpose of his life. He asked his friend, the Abbess Eadburg, to send him the Epistles of St. Peter in letters of gold, that the Holy Scriptures might be honoured in the carnal eyes of the pagans. He also called for Readers, Writers, Artisans, that he might civilise the Germans. His fifteen Homilies show how he himself preached to the new converts, of whom he had 100,000 in a few years, and those Homilies were used by other priests as their manual and model. They treat of faith, the origin of the state of man, capital sins, faith and charity, the incarnation of God's Son, and such-like cardinal themes. How he brought his lessons to practical life may be seen in his sermon on "What is abjured in the Baptismal Vow?"

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strength which God supplieth: that in all things God may be glorified through Jesus Christ, whose is the glory and the dominion for ever and ever. Amen" (1 Peter iv. 10, 11, R.V.).

Second, men with a gift of preaching are needed. In the early Church a man with a gift could only exercise it as his stewardship if approved by his friends and brethren in the Church. Unless he had distinctly and distinctively the gift of preaching he was neither called nor permitted to be a preacher. But in looking over the system pursued in the Churches of Christendom, we find that this gift is, speaking generally, never tested, thoroughly tested, while many other gifts are. Classics, mathematics, philosophy, all that is needed for an ordinary member of society, are enjoined; all right and proper, but the poor youth may pass through a University course with distinction, and only discover when invested with full ministerial status that he cannot preach so as to move his fellowmen. We assume that the highest motives prompt him in every case, but God confers powers, and gives the use of those powers, in our several duties in life. There is one Church which trains its ministers from the beginning with a view to their being public speakers—the Wesleyan. It is impossible to describe that system here. But I may say that by means of class meetings, prayer meetings, band meetings, by the local preacher's functions, there are abundant opportunities given or made of ascertaining a young man's aptitude and vocation for the ministry before his decision is made to offer himself as a candidate for its

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work and vows. "His teaching and preaching gifts are elicited and fostered and at the same time trained," and unless they meet with acceptance he is not allowed to be even a candidate. Every later stage is similarly guarded. The Wesleyans make the power to preach the primary qualification.[1] I believe the Welsh Presbyterians or Calvinistic Methodists do the same. It would be ungracious to work out the contrast between this system and that with which we are all familiar in the Scottish Presbyterian Churches, or in the Episcopal Church, a system of cruel kindness to students and their future congregations which regards the power to preach as, at best, a desirable accomplishment.

When a man has the gift of preaching, how men excuse him from other duties! And if all ministers could preach, and preach sympathetically of the work to be done, I believe all congregations would spare them and work more. If ministers were selected because of their fitness to preach, and if congregations were alive to their own duty to work, men who are really capable of preaching would be allowed to cultivate their gift, because their people would no longer expect them to concentrate in their own persons all the forms of Christian activity. There would also follow, I think, the recognition by the modern Church of the gifts of Evangelists, of Pastors, of Teachers, of Helps of every kind — recognition which would not imply being raised to the same rank of government as

[1] See Rigg, *Essays for the Times—Education and Training of the Clergy*, 1866, pp. 60, 61.

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Presbyters or Elders, but which would give them a place in the public meetings of the congregation, especially when those meetings are for the purpose of consulting as to plans of usefulness. At present if a man be gifted as a wonderful evangelist, or if another man has a special power of teaching, they are nevertheless compelled to give their lives to the ordinary pastorate of a congregation quite as much as though theirs were a pastor's gifts. The remedy for all this is to go back to St. Paul's list and St. Peter's list of the endowments of the Church, and to seek to develop each of them singly in practical life, and to combine them altogether in one harmonious whole of consecrated action.

Third, men of every rank are needed. Malachi reproached Judah with counting the service of Jehovah a weariness. There was a time in the history of the Church when slaves filled the ranks of the clergy. But not so in other times. Many of the Eastern Bishops of note had been of the best families of the Empire. Columba was of a line of kings; he was a king's grandson. In the Anglo-Saxon Church, kings and queens, princes and princesses, nobles and chief captains, were proud to be the servants of God in the ministry of the Church. The Saxon heads of religious houses, abbots and abbesses, when they sat in national Councils among their official peers, were sitting among their brothers after the flesh, the old nobles of the land. Among the Anglo-Saxon "saints between the seventh and the eleventh century, there were twenty-three kings, sixty queens, princes, and princesses." So it was in Scot-

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land. Gawain Douglas and James Stewart and Patrick Hamilton and George Wishart were of the blue blood of our ancient realm. There has since been comparatively little of that in the Protestant Church. And it is a reproach to many who themselves rule as Elders in the Councils of the Kirk that they never dream of bringing their own best, one of their sons, to the service of the Heavenly King in the Spiritual Commonwealth. Guizot often says that the Church's healing hand has been felt in society because its ministers are of every rank and station; but it seems to be less true of Germany, Switzerland, and Scotland than of any Episcopal country.

Fourth, *men of every gift are needed* if they can teach. The man of widest culture, the man of profound special knowledge, the man of books, the man of deeds, the man of travel, the man also who has with eyes open dwelt always among his own people, surely we need them all. It is ludicrous if it were not sad to see Churches applying the same cast-iron measure of seven college years to every candidate for her ministry. The old *trivium* (*i.e.* Grammar, Rhetoric, Dialectic) and *quadrivium* (*i.e.* Music, Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy) about which Martianus Capella[1] strung verses and philosophy together are practically ruling the

[1] His book, "a medley of prose and verse," was the text-book of education in the sixth and seventh centuries, often copied by the monks. Apollo appeared with seven virgins, viz. Grammar, Dialectic, Rhetoric, Geometry, Arithmetic, Astronomy, Music. Geometry included Geography, Music included Composition and Versification. Scotus Erigena, Grotius, and Scaliger wrote commentaries on the book.

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studies of our ministers at the present day. Nay, I almost think that the seven virgins whom he described, and the fancied wedding of Philosophy and Science, would point to a line of culture fully as broad and bright as what we have. If some man of a couple of hundred years ago were to come among us in Scotland and see our bursting life, our manifold labours, he would say, Everything is changed except the curriculum of Divinity.

Yet it remains, this ministry of the Word, as the crown and glory of the mission of the Redeemer's Church. What higher honour can be granted to any human being than that he should specially represent his Divine Master; that the hand he lays on the young head is Christ's hand of blessing; that his touch to the sick and weary is the sympathy of the Lord Jesus; that his word of counsel is Christ's own word; and that in all his life he is called to walk not only in the spirit of Christ—that is not distinctive of any man among us—but in the very footsteps of the Son of Man? Who is sufficient for these things?

NOTES

I. Because I know it best, I have had principally in view the training of the Presbyterian minister; but I here quote some words of one who, alike as scholar, Christian minister, and chief pastor, adorns the Church of England:—

DR. HANDLEY G. MOULE'S (THE BISHOP OF DURHAM'S) "EPHESIAN STUDIES"

"Grace in its oneness and variety is the *gift* of Christ."—Eph. iv. 7-16.

The Christian Ministry (p. 198.)—Its Divine Institution. From the Apostle to the Pastor-Teacher, it is "the gift of Christ,"

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. . . not an emergence from below, a mere product of the needs of the Church, developed in merely "natural" ways, but a gift from above. Let that thought both awe and animate the true Minister, and give the private Christian a due sense of honouring love towards the Pastorate.

On the other hand we observe that the emphasis of the passage lies upon the truth that the ideal Ministry is a Ministry of spiritual power. We have here, of course, indications of grade and order; and the thought of the distribution and difference of functions is the main thought of the context. But the "gifts" are all alike in this, that they are given by the just-ascended Lord; they are Pentecostal gifts. This calls attention supremely to the witnessing work of the Christian Ministry. That Ministry has many sides to its duties and commission; "the shepherd" must needs be in some sense the guardian, and the "teacher" the guide. But the Pentecostal "gift" was above all things a gift *for witness*: "Ye shall receive power, by the coming of the Holy Ghost upon you, and ye shall be witnesses of Me" (Acts i. 8). Again and again in the Acts the Apostles themselves appear, as above all things, witnesses. Such, to the end, is the Christian minister, in his true idea. His *characteristic* function is profoundly different from that of the Aaronic priest. Distinctively (let me deliberately say it with the New Testament open), it is not "sacerdotal" at all. It is prophetic; it is the function of the Christ-given, Spirit-filled, witness to the Lord and His Word, before the Church and before the world.

. . . A Ministry so conditioned cannot possibly absorb into itself the spiritual functions of the Church. Rather, it will quicken and develop in the Church the sense and exercise of spiritual functions. The one purpose of the Ministry mentioned here by the Apostle, its one great *raison d'être* in his view here, is this. Note the translation of v. 12, "with a view to (πρός) the equipment of the saints for (εἰς) work of service."

. . . Meanwhile let this passage remind us that the ideal of the matter is that "the saints" should indeed do "work of service," and contribute their labour and witness to "the upbuilding of the body of Christ"; but that they should not therefore slight order, cohesion, and the loving guidance of the spiritual Ministry.

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II. We here append some *notices of some of the most famous preachers.* We have not attempted a full account or estimate of Origen and Augustine, because they are familiarly known. We may say, however, that of sermons that teach there can be none more permanently useful than those of Augustine, who never wastes words nor loses for a moment his purpose of making the meaning of his text and its application clear.

BASIL, Bishop or Archbishop of Cesarea in Cappadocia, was a king among men in his day. He was probably born in Cesarea about the year A.D. 330; died 379. He and his brother, Gregory of Nyssa, and his friend Gregory Nazianzen, were the three great Cappadocians of their time. At the University of Athens he had as friends and comrades Gregory Nazianzen and Julian, afterwards Emperor. Basil founded many monasteries in Pontus, became first unofficial colleague or factor, and afterwards successor, of Eusebius, Bishop and Metropolitan of Cesarea. He was a strong, masterful man, a great administrator, and a pre-eminent thinker. His *Orations on the Six Days of Creation* (*Hexæmeron*) are monuments of intellectual power, and show a remarkable mastery of physical science as known in his day, so that his exposition rarely clashes with the fuller scientific knowledge of our time. His close observation of plants and animals is conspicuous and interesting. His Homilies (on Psalms, or abstract duties, for the most part) are full of wise spiritual counsel and show great power. His mastery of literary allusion is conspicuous, and is always in subjection to his main spiritual purpose. His letters are not more remarkable for fulness of information and pointed correction of mistakes than for quips and jests and friendly banter. To his old teacher, Libanius, a heathen philosopher, he says he learned fun from him, and all his earnest life shows his sense of humour. Even when facing in full dignity the angry Arian Emperor Valens he made a point of ridiculing the bad Greek of an officious courtier. He died, worn out with work, worry, and ascetic mortifications, at the age of fifty. He was a tower of strength for the Orthodox or Athanasian defenders of Trinitarian doctrine, though he did not preach that doctrine with such memorable explicitness of expression as did his friend Gregory Nazianzen. He must be honoured as the Founder of the great Christian Hospital in the

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outskirts of Cesarea. It is touching to see how, when opportunity served, he turned his steps to it.

GREGORY, called NAZIANZEN (329-389), because of his birthplace, was son of Gregory, Bishop of Nazianzum (or Nazianzus). His father, a rich landed proprietor, was a married man as well as a bishop when his sons Gregory and Cesarius were born. Cesarius, the younger, became an eminent physician in Constantinople, and showed his firmness in a controversial discussion with the heathen Emperor Julian, which was public, or at least conducted in presence of many witnesses. Gregory was an eminent orator in his time, and his Orations are still thoroughly readable. Many of them are, however, too elaborate, verbose, and discursive to suit completely our modern taste. His funeral orations on his father, mother, and sister are as elaborate as they are affectionate, but they are not natural. He was an early and close friend of Basil, but he was hurt because Basil made him Bishop, without his consent, of an arid frontier bishopric, so that he should be a kind of Warden of the Marches against foes and heretics. But when Basil died, Gregory delivered a truly great oration on the mighty Churchman who had been his early friend. Gregory had a strange career. He was against his will suffragan or coadjutor to his father in Cesarea, Bishop of Sasima by Basil's masterful appointment; Metropolitan of Constantinople, also without his consent. He repeatedly ran away from his dignities, even leaving the Second Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381, while he was its chairman, to return to Cesarea, there also to abandon his dignity to another Bishop, after which he betook himself to his garden and to prayer. Not an ecclesiastic, but pre-eminently an orator, he never hesitated or tired in proclaiming the great doctrine of the Trinity, and his influence over the minds of men was unparalleled. He was far from an imposing figure when he walked along with the great Emperor Theodosius, a man of martial mien, to take possession of the chief church of Constantinople as his Cathedral. But in the pulpit he enthralled every audience. There was something very winning and unselfish in the great preacher's character which comes out to us even now in his Orations. In his farewell sermon he speaks scornfully of those who expected him to have grand equipages and much display. He said on another occasion, "What man of sense ever considered ecclesiastical dignity an object of great

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desire!" Certainly it was no such object to him. He said also that the people loved him because they had chosen him—so that he was their work, their creation, their own possession. This tribute to popular election came when the popular acclaim went so far as to put him by force in the archiepiscopal chair. But neither the people nor the Emperor could make him feel at home in it. He is much more at home in the pulpit or in writing letters to his friends. The great orator loved letters written in simple style, and said they ought always to take the character of talking (μᾶλλον εἰς τὸ λαλικὸν ἀποκλίνειν). He was a true lover of the beauties of nature, and was happier far in his garden in his old age than in an Episcopal throne, or even than in the pulpit when the excited audience applauded his sonorous periods and his clear theology.

JOHN CHRYSOSTOM was born in Antioch about A.D. 347. He was a pupil of Libanius, who was then in Antioch, and began to practise at the bar in Antioch. But soon he resolved to devote himself to a Christian life. He was first a reader in the Church, then a monk, then a deacon, then a presbyter. As presbyter he preached for twelve years twice a week regularly, and also upon Festival days, in his native Antioch, and then, on a false pretext, was induced to leave the city and was taken to Constantinople, where he was made Bishop with the acclaim of the people. The great preacher denounced the vices of the people, the remissness of the clergy, even the sins of the Court. It is said that after some pretty clear allusions to the Empress Eudoxia on previous occasions, he exclaimed one day in his Homily in St. Sophia: "Again Herodias raves. Again Herodias is dancing. Herodias demands the head of John in a charger." The people were with him, but they were not so firm as the people who were at the back of John Knox in similar circumstances in after times, and the great preacher of the East was imprisoned and banished, and eventually died on his way to a remote place of exile on the Black Sea. He was incomparably greater than the other preachers of the fourth century. It does not appear that any later preacher was ever so great. He is distinguished from all the other Christian orators of antiquity by his intense humanity. Whether he denounces sin or inculcates righteousness he is less an ecclesiastic than an earnest Christian man speaking straight to his fellowmen. When in early manhood he was about, like

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the Psalmist, to flee away and be at rest, his mother's remonstrance kept him by her side to sustain and comfort her. He declaims against the growing distinction between clergy and laity, because the Christian man has direct personal communion with God. When he was telling the people how their aged and fragile Bishop had prevailed on the great Emperor (Theodosius) to pardon as an act of Easter clemency the people of Antioch who had risen in tumultuous rebellion against the imperial tax-gatherers, he said that the Emperor resolved for Christ's sake to forgive the people as the Saviour forgave His murderers, and thus uttered words that *became him better than his imperial crown.* We think of Shakespeare and feel that the heart of the preacher touches us. When he teaches that only superstition made immoral men crowd to Communion at Easter, he tells that it is the preparation of the heart, not Easter-tide, that is of avail; when he denounces those who laid costly gifts on the Communion table in some vague belief that this would be an acceptable sacrifice, he asks them of what avail a golden cup when their own heart is of lead or like potter's clay. It is impossible here to represent the great orations of Chrysostom, but in contrast with the other orators who are sometimes compared with him—as Basil or Gregory Nazianzen—we feel that he was more like Luther than any one of old or recent times. And Luther had not the incomparable oratorical power which was not art, but a great soul's utterances of a great heart in words that still kindle where they touch.—See Milman, *Hist. of Christianity,* book iii. c. ix. (pp. 118 ff. ed. 1863); Neander's *Chrysostom.*

Pope LEO THE GREAT, born in or about A.D. 400, ordained Priest and Pope in A.D. 440, was remarkable as preacher of short, clear sermons, full of direct appeal. They resemble Augustine's, but are less expository. Leo was from his youth a man of mark and influence. Though only a deacon until he was appointed Pope, he influenced—we might say he guided—successive Popes before he was himself in the Papal chair. He arrogated to himself, as Bishop of Rome and successor of St. Peter, power and authority in all regions of Christendom, and is famous for his successful usurpation of authority. His influence made the Emperor convene the Council of Chalcedon in A.D. 451, which condemned the Eutychian heresy and fixed the dogma of the Catholic Faith that our Lord had two distinct natures in One Person. His practical teaching on such subjects as the sin of

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usury, fasting, general almsgiving is still so clear as to be valuable. He taught that Prayer, Fasting, and Almsgiving are the three comprehensive duties of a Christian. He was the first great purely Italian Pope, and, like Gregory the Great, he did not know Greek.

Pope GREGORY THE GREAT, born about A.D. 540, abbot A.D. 585, Pope 590, died A.D. 604, was a well-born and highly educated Roman. Like other eminent ecclesiastics he studied law in his youth, and had a great reputation for eminence in grammar, rhetoric, and logic. He seems not to have known Greek, and his intimate knowledge of Scripture was founded on patient study of the Latin version. He rebuked a bishop in Gaul for allowing attention to "trifles and secular literature." Like others famous in the Church, he had a saintly and able mother (Silvia). He spent his large patrimony in founding monasteries, retaining very little for himself. His reputation among us has largely come from his compassion being moved by seeing some beautiful English youths sold for slaves in the Roman market (*non Angli sed angeli*, he said), so that he set out to go to England as a missionary. He was recalled by the Pope, but at a later day he sent Augustine with a band; and the many letters he wrote to the missionaries, and to people of influence asking them to help the adventurers on their way, are touching proof of his solicitude for the success of the mission. He did a great deal to consolidate the power of the Roman See, and was particularly jealous of Constantinople. For our purpose he is chiefly notable because of his treatise on *Pastoral Care*. It is avowedly a counsel for Bishops, but practically it is a treatise on the Pastorate. It is a wise book, wise in the lessons of experience, in remarkable knowledge of the Bible, and in sympathy with human nature. It abounds in terse sentences; some of them are even epigrams. Take it all in all, it would be an admirable handbook for young ministers in our own day. His advices as to how to deal with different classes—as the rich and the poor, the joyful and the sad, the simple and the insincere, the married and the unwed, and all the rest of six and thirty kinds of people—are a mine of suggestion. The Church owes much to Gregory as a great pastor.

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CHAPTER V[1]

CARE OF THE POOR BY THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH TO THE REFORMATION

THE Christian Church itself—if we may apply that name to the Redeemer and His disciples during His life—was largely maintained from a common purse, into which offerings were put by those whose hearts were moved. There was, doubtless, often shelter for the night, and sometimes a meal was provided for the little company by the well-to-do in whose neighbourhood they were; but for the most part dependence for needful supplies rested on the common purse. The disciples who forsook all and who followed Christ are nowhere said to have sold all that they had and given it to Him. During His lifetime men and women ministered to Him "of their substance." After His Death and Ascension it is obvious that the fervour of the first disciples caused

[1] Besides various authors cited in course of the chapter, special reference must be made to Uhlhorn's *Christian Charity*, being the first volume of his great history of Christian beneficence. Harnack (*Expansion of Christianity*, p. 181) says Uhlhorn's masterly sketch is thorough, but unfair to Paganism. This caveat may well be doubted.

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many of them to part with all personal property and to pour their possessions into the common treasury. There was, therefore, community of goods in the first ardour of the early Church, no one counting as his own anything he had. But while this was characteristic of the free-will generosity of the membership as a whole, there was no law of privation applied to the disciples. Mary still had her own house in Jerusalem (Acts xii. 12). Ananias is reminded that it had been in his own power to give as much or as little of the price of his land as he chose (Acts v. 4). As the little company increased, so that it became a large multitude instead of a large family (which it naturally was at first), recourse was had to other means of support than community of goods. We find that St. Paul had no injunction laid upon him as to the sinfulness of private property, but was simply told by the older Apostles to be mindful of the poor. In his Epistles he nowhere enjoins or recommends community of goods. He does enjoin rich men to distribute freely, and poor men to be honest and work for bread. Neither communism nor a levelling of ranks was part of either the temporary or the permanent polity of the Church of Christ. To have all things in common at the outset was the natural form of Christian zeal. But the Church outgrew that state of things.

There was still, there ought always to be, a fund for the necessitous. At a very early date we see that the rulers of the Church felt the necessity of guarding against the absorption of this common fund by the idle. They who would not work are by no means to eat of

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the common supply ; and amongst the sayings ascribed to our Lord in early tradition there is one, "Woe to those who have and hypocritically take, or who, while they could help themselves, are willing to take alms from others ; for both will have to give account to the Lord God in the day of judgment."[1]

Early provision for the poor seems to have been made by the Love Feasts, which were provided at least once every Lord's Day, and perhaps every time the congregation met. In them a table was spread for the poor, and the idea of a family meal was kept up. The abuses which crept into them, of which we see proof in St. Paul's letter to the Corinthians, led to their being separated from the Lord's Supper at the beginning of the second century. It appears that at an early date the Lord's Supper was transferred to the morning, though the beautiful name Supper was thereby made an anachronism, and the Love Feast was reserved for the evening meeting. The Love Feasts were eventually abandoned. Perhaps they were too simple to exist when the Church became very large. The Council of Laodicea forbids their being held in churches (Can. 28). Probably the work of the "Seven" (who are never called Deacons) had to do with this as with other distribution. In addition to this Love Feast there was a stated collection every week to replenish the Church purse, out of which the poor were relieved. The Roman law, which enabled

[1] See this, with variations, as often quoted in early writers, *Apostolical Constitutions*, v. 3 ; Resch, *Agrapha*, Logion 9 (*Texte u. Untersuchungen*, v. 4, p. 99).

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clubs and colleges to make periodical collections, was applied to the Church, so as to make those weekly offerings legal.[1] But although the custom was a Pagan one, the Church chest was called "corbona," from the Jewish worship, and the offering was made weekly, so that the Gentile and the Old Testament elements were blended in the name and practice of the Christian offertory. Cyprian says it was desecration of the Sabbath not to put a gift in the "corbona." This possibly was originally not a charitable fund but a fund for the Church expenses, as in the case of the Roman clubs, which spent their hoards on entertainments. Gradually, however, the corban is seen to be no longer the Church chest, but the fund for the poor.

Associated with this was the oblation connected with the celebration of the Lord's Supper. The gifts which were brought to the President of the congregation[2] —as thanksgiving offerings—were gifts in kind, and were presented with a view to their distribution among the poor. We may here quote in full the words of Justin Martyr to which reference is often made. He says: "The wealthy and well-disposed give each what he wills, and the collection is laid before the President, and he succours orphans and widows and such as are in want through disease or other cause, and those in

[1] It was rather a stretch of law to do this every week, the Roman offerings being monthly.

[2] The table used in the Lord's Supper—when a special table for the elements came to be in use—was sometimes called Altar and sometimes the Lord's Table for several hundred years after Christ (see Bingham, *Christian Antiquities*, bk. viii. vi. 12).

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bonds and the strangers sojourning among us, and in a word he is the man who has for his care all that are in need" (*Apol.* i. 67. So Tertullian, *Apol.* c. 39). The actual distribution to the needy was the work of the Deacons, who in after-times of Episcopacy were consequently more closely related with the Bishop than were Presbyters. The idea of the Lord's Supper being a sacrifice or offering probably arose from there being a Thanksgiving [Eucharist] for the gifts brought to the Assembly, and for all the goodness given to men in Creation. Those gifts and prayers were an offering or sacrifice to God. After the congregation had saluted each other with a kiss of charity, there came the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The President usually took the "Elements" of the Sacrament from the oblations previously brought by the people, and again gave thanks, and the members partook.[1] In later days those oblations ceased to be laid upon the table, and were brought to the Bishop's house, or to a special chamber in the church buildings, and the idea of sacrifice, which had been originally attached to them—the sacrifice of thanksgiving—came strangely to be confined to the presentation of the elements used in the Lord's Supper.

[1] See the long prayers of thanksgiving before the communion in *Apost. Constit.* viii. 12. They, of course, belong to a later date in Church history. Even there, however, it is prescribed that "the Deacons bring the gifts to the Bishop at the altar" before those prayers are offered. "The gifts"—an echo of the primitive custom. The prayer here and in the early liturgies — for example, St. James's *Liturgy*, §§ 28, 29—contains a thanksgiving for the gifts of Creation. Our text seems on the whole a probable account. See note on "Eucharist," p. 129.

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Those who brought the gifts had been prayed for by name, and gradually, as the givers of past donations were remembered, a mass for souls—the souls of dead benefactors in the first instance—crept in course of time into the Eucharist celebration. We see at the end of the second century [1] that the presenting of those gifts of oblation is regarded as the thank-offering of the Church; but—a mark of advance in ritual in the course of next century [2]—the presentation of the body and blood of Christ is regarded as the proper offering, and alms for the poor are no longer a mere thank-offering, as in the previous century, but they are now regarded as a meritorious work.

The Christian community recognised its obligation to provide for any brother who was in need. Not only one of their own number had a right to support from the rest, but the passer-by, the homeless wanderer, was entertained. The modern mission among Jews and Gentiles has been timid in recognising this obligation. It is doubtless liable to abuse. The *Didaché* shows how unscrupulous "Apostles and Prophets" took unfair advantage of it. But it was, notwithstanding, a genuine outcome of the sense of brotherhood in the Church. The funds of the community were used; private hospitality also was freely extended.[3]

[1] Tertullian.

[2] Cyprian.

[3] Pseudo-Clem. Hom. (*Ep. of Clement*), c. viii., says, "Give work to the artificer and alms to the incapable." So also *Apost. Constit.* bk. iv. c. 2, "Give to the young man assistance that he may learn a trade, . . . for certainly he is a happy man who is able to support himself."

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The simple provisions of the Church purse and the Love Feast could obviously only keep the poor of the particular congregation and an occasional visitor. Perhaps they would have been insufficient for that purpose[1] if there had not grown up a strong conviction that it was a right and proper thing for Christians to save money by the exercise of self-denial, and to apply that money to the maintenance of the poor. St. Paul had held up this as the ultimate aim of honest industry, that "he may have something to give to him that needeth." But something different from merely utilising the surplus funds of industry came into vogue. The idea of alms being meritorious prevailed largely in and after the third century; and alms were regarded as an outcome of fasting. What was saved by fasting on occasion, or by the stated fasts of Lent, was thus put into the poor's funds. To set apart a fixed portion of one's income, after the Jewish model, was not the practice or the principle of the Christian Church for 300 or 400 years after Christ. The first Council which speaks of it—the Synod of Tours in 567—simply exhorts to the practice. In 585, waxing bolder, the Council makes of it almost a binding law.[2] But earlier than this we may

[1] Afterwards the weekly offerings were partly given to the clergy, and partly for what we may call Church expenses; but in the early days the ordinary heads of the congregation seem, like St. Paul, to have wrought with their own hands for their living, and so their work did not become chargeable to the Church funds. "The Bishops and Presbyters of those early days kept banks, practised medicine, wrought as silversmiths, tended sheep, or sold their goods in open market."—Hatch, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 151.

[2] See Hefele on Macon. Guizot

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see it growing in the occasional notices of the Fathers of the fourth century. Some of the early Christian writers indeed contrast the Christian principle of giving as God hath prospered us, and as conscience prompts, with the fixed character of the Jewish law of tithes; but the directness and simplicity of settling that a fixed portion is right and requisite gradually prevailed. The tenth, or tithe, however, was outgrown as the Christian Church developed. The munificence of its benefactors could be measured by no such small standard. The grand liberality of Deuteronomy was remembered: "The poor shall never cease out of the land: therefore I command thee, saying, Thou shalt *open thine hand* unto thy brother, to thy needy, and to thy poor, in thy land" (Deut. xv. 11).[1]

Now let us compare with the Christian customs those laws and customs which had prevailed in heathen nations. The Roman notion had been that a poor man

minimises the decrees. Under the Carlovingian kings the law was made general and regular, Guizot, ii. 53.

[1] Cyprian teaches the propitiatory value of alms-giving. "When past sinfulness has been obliterated by the blood of Christ in Baptism, the effectiveness of that Baptism is prolonged and subsequent frailties continually abolished, through the maintenance in all its freshness of the state of mind in which we leave the font by a constant flow of working and alms-giving" (Benson's *Cyprian*, p. 249). Cyprian's treatise on "Works and Alms" is a noble one, and penetrates deeper than his accomplished Editor's summary indicates: "He who is pitiful teaches and warns us that pity must be shown; and because He seeks to save those whom at a great cost He has redeemed, He teaches that those who, after the grace of baptism, have become foul may once more be cleansed," c. 2.

About a century later the Church money was usually divided among Bishops, Clergy, Poor, and Church fabrics.

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had a right to alms, or at least to relief, but that it was not the duty of any individual in particular to provide the relief.[1] It fell, accordingly, to the State to do this, and the Roman Emperors simply carried to a natural though absurd extreme the practice of feeding the poor which had grown up in the days of the Republic. Caius Gracchus had made the maximum price of a bushel of wheat five asses; Clodius distributed it gratis; Julius Cæsar reduced the number of men that were fed by the State to 150,000; Augustus found that it had again grown, and reduced it to 200,000. Trajan about A.D. 100 provided a Guild of Bakers, the members of which were bound to supply bread cheap to the poor, the State reimbursing them for their losses when grain was dear. Add to this the enormous largesses when Emperors ascended the throne, or when it was needful to conciliate the mob, and it is obvious that in Pagan Rome the relief of poverty or idleness was a very costly matter. Aurelian (A.D. 270) wanted to distribute to each poor man a 2-lb. loaf of bread and wine, but the Prætorian prefect said that if he went on in that fashion there could be no reason for not presenting them with chickens and geese.[2] In Athens there was something more like a Poor Law, making special provision for those who were disabled, as the blind, the lame, the cripples, and the orphan children of citizens who had fallen in war. Athenians also got payment for

[1] Yet begging was never prohibited in the Roman Empire till Christian Emperors prohibited it.

[2] For the above see Ozanam, *Fifth Century*, ii. 48 ff.

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attending the popular assemblies and sitting in the Courts of Justice.[1] The provision for the poor both in Athens and in Rome applied to the freeborn citizens. There was a large class of slaves and dependents whom even the lavishness of that provision did not reach; but it was a great boon in Rome, and Rome did not bear the burden, as the taxation out of which those funds were taken was levied upon the distant parts of the Empire. It is said that in Vespasian's time the Land Tax amounted to £30,000,000 sterling, the whole population being somewhat under 100,000,000; and of this sum Gaul, with 8,000,000 of population, paid more than £19,000,000 in money, equal to 48s. a head of Land Tax upon the people of Gaul alone. The consequence of this was that the municipal functionaries in the provinces, who were bound to provide the sum due upon taxes, frequently gave up everything and fled away to escape responsibility for the taxation. Farms were deserted, and the whole social fabric overwhelmed in ruin. Sometimes a large landowner handed over his estate to what were called colonists—something between freemen and slaves—who paid him rent in kind. This payment of a rent to the proprietor was the distinctive mark of the colonist. After a time those slave colonists became serfs, and were sold along with the land.[2]

Through the growth of luxury in Rome, and the

[1] See Uhlhorn on *Christian Charity in the Ancient Church*, i. p. 10.

[2] See Guizot, *History of Civilisation in Europe*, vol. iii. p. 144.

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increasing corruption of every rank, and of most individuals, Roman society was falling in pieces when the Christian Church came in to reconstruct it. We find that in this reconstruction it began at the base. Charity to the deserving poor, care for the slaves, of whom no man had taken account, visiting of the prisoners who had been previously neglected, ministering to the wants of the aged and infirm, who might otherwise have been deserted (for even the mother in a Roman home might be turned out in her old age)—it was through those functions of the ministry of Christ that His Church began to rebuild the social fabric. In regard to slaves there can be no doubt that Stoicism did much to mitigate their condition, because it taught the greatness and the equality of humanity. Yet it stopped short. Seneca is said to have had 20,000 slaves, whom it never occurred to him to manumit, though he did own that they were possibly human beings like himself. But the Christian Church was open to a slave as to a freeman. To avoid bloodshed, and all the anarchy that would have followed from the sudden elevation of a slave to social responsibility before he was prepared for it, Christ and His Apostles did not denounce slavery as an institution, but, on the other hand, by calling upon masters to treat their slaves as Christian brothers, and by enjoining on the slaves to render to their masters free-will obedience from love, Christianity took the sting from slavery, never again to be restored to it. Constantine forbade the separation of the families of slaves. In course of time, from Justinian onwards, a touching

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feature in Sunday services was the manumission of slaves. Thus Christ proclaimed liberty to the captive. The enfranchisement was recorded on the fly-leaf of the Gospels or some other Church book. If any overworked slave was compelled to work on Sunday he was thereby set free from his bondage. "The legislator of the Christians," said Lucian, "has persuaded them that they are all brothers" (*Pereg.* 13). In regard to prisoners, Tertullian enumerates the visiting of the imprisoned (they were usually prisoners for political offences) as one of the primary duties of a Christian man and woman; and, as we have seen before, (p. 26), Lucian says that when his hero, Peregrinus, was in prison, the Christians made wonderful exertions and sacrifices, crowding round the prison doors from daybreak with food and comforts for him to make his position tolerable. The cynical observer says that from the cities of Asia certain Christians were deputed to comfort and help this pitied prisoner.

The gladiators, too, a great doomed, unhappy class, fed and medically attended as one might tend an animal in view of a show in which it would be exhibited, were blessed by the religion of Christ.[1] The first Christian Emperor was the first to condemn the so-called "Games," where their combats were the sport. How unlike Trajan—great and good as Pagans could be—who exhibited 10,000 gladiators on his return from Dacia! But the games lingered on, as cruel customs

[1] Yet as men who did deadly work in time of peace they were excluded from communion (Arles, Can. 3).

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always do, for a human crowd is cruel, till a brave monk, nearly a hundred years after Constantine, rushed between the combatants to part them and was killed. That brave Telemachus was the last victim of gladiator games in the West.[1]

One other thing may be mentioned. The hardships of the poor have under all despotic Governments been greatly increased by the exactions of the usurer. The Roman minimum interest was 12 per cent (*i.e.* one per cent for each month),[2] while it frequently rose to 24 or 48, and Horace even tells us of 60. One of the earliest concerns of the Christian Church was to prevent any office-bearer from becoming a money-lender.[3] The clergy, as guardians of Church funds, must have been frequently tempted to lend money at interest; but the Council of Nicæa enjoined that any one who so did should be turned out and his name struck off the list of clergy.[4] The Apostolic Canons (Canon 44) and many early Councils forbade, under the strongest penalties, the practice of usury. Cyprian charges it against the Bishops of the "Lapsed" that they attended markets and lent money at compound interest. The savings of the clergy —if they ever had any—belonged by canon law to the Church and to the poor, and were

[1] Compare Ozanam, vol. i. 121.

[2] This was re-enacted by Constantine in 325, just before the Council.

[3] It does not appear that the same restriction was applied to laymen. Cyprian's enumeration of testimonies against the Jews contains the passages from the Old Testament forbidding gain by lending, and implies that Christians were not like Jews making such gain. Even Christians exacted 50 per cent in Chrysostom's days.

[4] Council of Nicæa, Can. 17.

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therefore not to be turned against the poor by usurious interest.[1]

The duties owing by Christ's disciples to the poor are indeed the very foundation of the activity of the Christian Church. We find the thought of God's message to the poor, which was the climax of our Lord's first sermon, running like a gold thread through all the subsequent history of His Church. A Roman poet might say that to give relief to a poor man was only to prolong his misery, which had much better come to an end. A philosophic Roman moralist might say that it was worth while being liberal because it did good to a man's own spirit to bestow alms on the poor. A Roman politician might feel that it was needed for his power that he should relieve the poor. Christianity takes up another thought. A poor man is valuable in God's sight and for Christ's sake. To relieve him and to minister to him is our simple duty and highest privilege; and the Church or the Christian failing to minister thus to the poor has forfeited all right to bear His sacred name. Chrysostom said, "As fountains flow near the place of prayer that the hands that are about to be raised to heaven may be washed, so were the poor placed by our fathers near to the door of the

[1] Usury was by ancient custom a mode of frightful exaction, and as such was a sin of great enormity in the eyes of true Christians. If the clergy had been allowed to be usurers their great opportunities would have made usury a means of amassing wealth. It would have destroyed their brotherly relations with the poor. Alike in East and West the leaders of the Church denounce it. The Council of Nicæa in making deposition the penalty on any of the clergy who indulged in it was expressing the common

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Church that our hands might be consecrated by benevolence before they are raised to God."[1]

Christianity, in short, created the people. The republics of Greece and Italy existed for their citizens and trod upon their slaves. Christianity existed for the mass of men, and when Ambrose took down the ornaments of his Church to relieve some prisoners, saying that God would be better served by the liberation of those in bonds than by the beauty of the furnishings of the altar, he was rightly expressing a central truth of his faith. When St. Francis of Assisi flung all his money to the poor in Rome and then parted with his fine clothes, that he might wear a beggar's garb, he was only uttering in his own impetuous fashion a needed protest against the luxury which adorned the official while it stinted the relief of the poor.

Until Constantine adopted Christianity all the benefactions of the Church were doubtless congregational. Even the 1500 widows and orphans, of whom Eusebius tells as supported in Rome by the Church at a cost of nearly £4000 a year, would doubtless be regarded by us as congregational poor. No doubt at times the Church went beyond the congregation, as when Cyprian raised 100,000 sesterces for the Numidian prisoners—that is about £850. And, which is more, in the appointment of hospitals the Church was passing

conviction of Christendom. Yet it seems to have lingered on until new commercial relations made it possible for a man to lend his money and receive it back with reasonable interest (St. Luke xix. 23).

[1] See further illustrations in Ozanam, vol. ii. p. 48 ff.

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beyond the limits of the congregation. But for long, as in the early chapters of the Acts, those to whom ministration was made had been in their better-off days members of the Christian community. It is not known at what time the congregational changed into the public provision for the poor through the Church, but we may see its progress under two heads:—

1. *Hospitals.* The old world was not acquainted with hospitals. Great physicians sometimes had small infirmaries connected with their own practice for the better attending to selected patients. Some of the more civilised nations (as Egypt) and some of the martial republics — Sparta, for example — provided medical attendance for the soldiers on a campaign. Alexander the Great had surgeons with him in his expeditions. But in the Roman Republic it does not seem that any similar provision existed. In the wars of Fabius the wounded were carried to private houses to be tended. Julius Cæsar began a new era, and after his day military surgeons and physicians were provided.[1] But even for military purposes it is doubtful whether there was any public hospital till a much later time. Tacitus (*Annal.* iv. 63) seems to say there was not. At all events there was none for the sick poor. But it is significant of Roman independence, and of the contemptuous kindness with which the haughty patricians treated their dependants, that there were

[1] See *Geschichte Christlichen Kranken-Pflege u Pflegerschaften*, von Dr. Heinrich Haefer, Berlin, 1857, and Sir J. Y. Simpson's *Archæological Essays*, vol. ii. 1882. See Note afterwards, p. 127.

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Valetudinaria for slaves in connection with great country houses, and by and by town hospitals for slaves; and also in Rome, as in Greece, surgeons and infirmaries for gladiators. But, these things notwithstanding, it does not appear as though anything approaching to what we now mean by a hospital for the sick poor was ever seen until the time of Constantine. Public hospitals as places of compassion for the poor are a Christian institution. Jews had none. They are an institution of the Christian Roman Empire. At that era they burst out everywhere. We find Julian, in his attempt to rival Christianity in its usual beneficence, providing a Xenodochium (*i.e.* an institution for receiving strangers) in every city, partly, at least, at the public expense. "We see," he said, "what makes those enemies of the gods so powerful; it is their humane love of the stranger or orphan, their care for the dead, and their holiness of life, artificial though it be." Basil's great hospital in Cesarea was said to have been a world's wonder, and, when there was one built in Europe, Jerome congratulates men that this twig of the terebinth of Abraham had been transplanted to the Ausonian shore. Very soon those hospitals were thrown upon the Church funds for support. Some of them came from the Church from the first; and even those which were of lay origin had rules like those of the cloister (Haefer, p. 14). We read of special collections when great orators preached: Chrysostom, for example. The State at first did a little. This was systematised by Gratian's law, but the custom was abandoned after

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Valentinian, and from that period hospitals were a part of Church organisation under the Bishop. The Bishop's bodyguard, in fact, at certain councils, when he wished to make an imposing appearance, consisted of the hospital attendants.[1] Monastic orders, male and female, became the ministrants of those hospitals, and so gradually they were identified not only with the Church but with the great monasteries and orders of the Church. Nothing that was ever done for the poor man made such a change in his position as the institution and spread of the system of hospitals for the sick. At a later period institutions more strictly confined to the sick than the older hospitals had ever been, were founded. Those homes of the sick—infirmaries—are not earlier than Charlemagne; some of them much later. [St. Bartholomew's, London, is 1102; St. Thomas's early in the thirteenth century.] As in our day hospital-nursing is the most popular form of woman's Christian work, so for some centuries before the Reformation. What a fruit of religion are those great Christian edifices as compared with the Roman amphitheatre and its bloodthirsty crowd, and its victims dying to make sport! A brilliant French writer says, "When they point to the grandeur of the heathen Colosseum we can bury them under our magnificent hospitals."

2. The next head is *Monasteries.* The monastic system, which began in the solitary hermitages of the Egyptian desert, and gradually led to the combinations of monks in Egypt until the fiery eloquence of Athanasius

[1] I.e. *Parabolani.*

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brought it to Rome and Europe, did more to fashion the destinies of the Christian Church than all other institutions taken together. The connection of monasteries with the care of the poor is obvious, essential, and continuous. They were the home of the Christian poor for many a day, the pauper's House of Refuge, the sheltered nook where the tender flowers of purity and holiness had leave to grow. What teaching, what example the rude ages had were due in the main to the monasteries. When the barbarous hordes that had overthrown the Empire broke up into little clans, each under its marauding chief, and the unity both of the Empire and of the human race seemed about to be obliterated, the monasteries, maintaining not only the common credit but a uniform social order, led to the restoration both of the Empire and of the social system. The inhabitants of the monastery were the leaven of society and the ministers of the poor. The funds of the monastery were held in trust for the service of men, and very soon the State washed its hands of all concern for the lowest class of its citizens, and handed them over to the monasteries. Freedom from taxation and many other privileges granted to religious houses were simply the State's recognition of the great burden that it had thrown on those houses of God. This seems to have begun in the eighth century.[1] The only cultivators of the soil who had any security of tenure, and the best class, therefore, of agricultural labourers, were to be found within the precinct walls or in the villages

[1] See Hallam, *Middle Ages*, ii. chap. vii. pp. 140-169, 11th ed., 1855.

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that clustered round the gates. Congregational relief of the poor had ceased, congregations themselves had become dependencies of the great abbey or monastery, whose members went out to the circle of parishes and churches in the neighbourhood. Thus the distribution of alms and giving of help to the poor, the education of the poor man's children, and the means of industrial livelihood, were amongst the benefits which the great monasteries conferred upon Christendom. It is quite true that, in consequence of this, country clergy were sucked into the abbey, rural bishops were suppressed, and anything like the relations of rich and poor in the Apostolic Church became impossible; but it is very doubtful if at any less price the Church could have been made strong enough to contend with the rude king or the ruder baron of the Middle Ages, or to preserve for future time the seeds of learning and virtue. The very hospitals of which we have spoken became adjuncts of the monasteries.[1] The school and the dispensary were parts of the monastic establishment as certainly as the Bible and the pulpit. Thus when we ask how for many hundred years the Church of Christ took care of the poor, we have to answer by pointing to the monks and the great houses in which they dwelt together.

[1] See further on Hospitals, p. 127.

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CHAPTER VI

CARE OF THE POOR FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE PRESENT DAY

At the Reformation the Protestant Church in all countries—we may take Scotland as one of the best examples and most familiar to ourselves—endeavoured to retain for the poor the large endowment which had been gradually accumulated in their name.[1] Even the statesmanlike proposals of John Knox amounted to little more than the application, in a national system, of the principles of care for the poor by which the monastery had been guided in the locality subject to it. His local college and his elementary school were simply what had been found at the abbey gates before the system was buried under corruptions; and the old Scottish

[1] "These twa sortis of men, that is to say the Ministers [of the Word] and the Poore, togidder with the schollis, when ordour shall be taken thairanent, must be sustened upon the chargeis of the Churche. . . . Of the teyndis must not onlie the minister be sustened, but *also the Poore* and schollis. . . . The Churche is onlie bound to sustene and nourische off her charges the personis before mentioned, *to wit* the ministers of the word, the Poore and the Teacharis of the youth." The "hospitall" is mentioned as to be maintained from the Church funds.—*First Book of Discipline*, c. vii. The Parochial system began with Archbishop Theodore. See details in Montalembert, iv. 209.

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custom of a Sabbath gift for the poor was an attempt to revive the system of contributions, which was as old as the days of Justin Martyr. The application of Church funds to maintain "the ministers, the poore, and the teachers of the youth" was a wise purpose baffled by the greed of men with mailed hands. We ought perhaps to remember as telling against the monasteries that the Sabbath offering, which for five centuries was dedicated to the poor, came to be regarded in the sixth century, and was usually viewed thereafter, as due to the clergy, and a payment for mass. This may be entered as against the monastic system, because it was at that date that the great monastic system prevailed over the earlier organisation of the Christian Church. One fruit of the Protestant Reformation was that congregational offerings were revived as the patrimony of the poor, and the officers of the Church were installed as managers of the parochial funds. For nearly 300 years—at least from 1597 to 1845—the poor of Scotland were chiefly maintained by the kirk-sessions, from funds supplied in large measure by the weekly offerings of the congregation.[1] Testamentary bequests and the extra congregational liberality of living men made up in some parishes what might otherwise have been deficient, and there was from 1579 legal authority for imposing an assessment when necessary.

[1] There was an Interdict on the funds raised at the door of a chapel of ease being given towards the maintenance of the minister. The Assembly—it was surely a mad moment—ordered the managers to go on in disregard of the Interdict (1837). See Wilson, *Index to Acts of Assembly*, p. 58.

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A long and keen controversy led to the enactment of the present Scottish Poor Law. That law would probably have come in any case, but the division of the Church made it inevitable. By seceding from the Established Church in 1843 Dr. Chalmers completed the defeat of his own attractive scheme for the voluntary support of the poor in a parish by the Christian congregation. It was proved before the Royal Commission [see Report in 1844] that the old law, *i.e.* the law using the voluntary offerings of the Church, was unequal in its operation; that it was inadequate in populous places; that the allowances under it were too small, and that disease, especially fever, made an easy prey of the impoverished population in receipt of some dole of parochial relief. Dr. Chalmers's many eager arguments had been met by the calm, clear, condensed statements of a Scottish philanthropist as unselfish as himself, and men watched with keen interest the encounter of the head of Scottish medicine with the leader of the Scottish Church. Dr. W. P. Alison's view was embodied in the Poor Law, and the battle was only too completely won. Legal assessment became the rule instead of the exception; paid officials took the place of the kirk-session; and the responsibility for the poor was transferred from the Church to the State, from the Kirk-Session to the Parochial Board. The Church has too completely accepted this as a decree of banishment from her position as God's almoner for the poor.[1]

[1] See *On the Management of the Poor in Scotland*, by W. P. Alison, M.D., 1840. Dr. Alison's main argument is that the mor-

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If, looking back upon all this, we ask ourselves how far the present state of matters realises the highest principles of the Christian Church in respect to care for the poor, our answer must be that the modern Church has much to learn. The growth of congregationalism has led to an increase of congregational liberality, but it has also brought about a weakening of the sense of responsibility for the territorial poor. We have seen that Chrysostom said that the poor men were round the Church door that the hands of the worshipper might be purified ere they were lifted up in prayer. It is a poor substitute for that when there is a plate in the Church porch to be filled with offerings for the funds of the Church, and not for the poor of the neighbourhood. Turning to the Established Church, it is one of the results of the limited endowment of *quoad sacra*

tality is greater in Scotland than in England, contagious fever from destitution being more prevalent and more fatal. Some facts recorded in his very able book are permanently interesting. In 1838 the population of Scotland was 2,315,000, and the annual expenditure on the poor was £140,496, of which about one-half was raised by assessment. Taking the population as it stood, the tax on each person was in England 5s. 10d., in Wales 6s., in Scotland only 1s. 4d. The highest allowance in the City of Edinburgh or in Glasgow (even to a widow with a family) was £4 : 16s. to £5 a year (say 2s. a week), and the usual pension to a disabled man or woman was about 1s. a week; whereas in England a widow with four children had from 4s. to 7s. a week (reckoning a 4-lb. loaf at 8d.), and an aged or disabled man had from 2s. to 4s. The English compulsory assessment dated from the reign of Elizabeth, the Scottish Act from 1579. If the Scottish Poor Law were assimilated to that of England, Dr. Alison's computation was that Scotland would spend about £800,000 a year instead of £140,000. Last year it spent £1,235,053, which is more than 6s. a head of the population. Population 4,472,103.

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parishes that the Sabbath Day offerings are regarded as going along with seat-rents to provide the clerical income. And from those new parishes the idea has spread into many that are rich with old endowments. The cost of the maintenance of worship—that is, the payment of officials and the meeting of necessary charges—was formerly defrayed by the heritors or met by a special effort; but, as a rule, congregations now regard those things as a burden on the weekly offerings. It is by no means usual for a congregation in any branch of the Christian Church to hold itself bound to maintain its own members who have fallen into straitened circumstances. They are cast on the legal provision of the Poor Law. There is no training of childhood and youth in consideration for the poor under a system of congregational giving such as that;[1] and attempts to minister to the wants of the afflicted and impoverished are regarded as pious deeds of an excep-

[1] I ask permission to refer to an attempt made during the years of my ministry by a rich and generous congregation in Glasgow forty years ago. There was a large district in Port Dundas, entirely occupied by working people and the poor, in which our Home Mission had its sphere. Families that needed help were chosen in that district, and families of the same size, and with children of about the same ages, were chosen in the wealthy congregation of The Park Parish. Both rich and poor went heartily into the proposed alliance. The parents and the children came to know each other, to the great good of both; clothes were transferred, when used, from the rich to the poor; times of slackness of work and of illness in the poor home were tided over; domestic service or employment was found for the poorer section of the allied families as they grew up; and I believe the friendly union was a blessing to both rich and poor. Some such simple plan might bridge the "gulf, which needs not kindness but sympathy," in all great cities.

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tional few instead of being the common duty of all. The day is perhaps gone by for ever when the National Church, among the many divisions of Christian denominationalism, should be regarded as either bound or competent to undertake the care of all the parochial poor through its own voluntary offerings, and the sum which it receives from national endowments is by no means an equivalent to the great expense which it would incur if it relieved the Poor Law of its paupers. Many, perhaps most, of the lately endowed *quoad sacra* parishes are in very poor districts, and in those places the congregations contain no rich people. It would be too much to expect their congregations to maintain all the parochial poor. "By an equality," said St. Paul; and in those cases the principles of equality would bring help to those poorer parishes from some of their richer neighbours in the same city. I am well aware that this is difficult, but it could be done. And more, I do not think the poor man should be robbed of his legal right to relief from the State. The Poorhouse must ever be maintained for those who will prefer the State to the Church, and the Church must be under State inspection in relieving her poor. Dr. Chalmers's hope of the voluntary maintenance of the poor cannot be realised at present in our divided Scotland. It would need, as Carlyle told him, a Dr. Chalmers in every parish; and it would need, too, the reunion of the Church which Chalmers himself did so much to disrupt. Yet surely these two things are possible. First, that every congregation should maintain

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its own poor members, and keep them from the hopeless brand of State pauperism, and, second, that when any church or congregation undertakes a mission in a poor district, or subdivision of a town or country village, it should hold itself bound to supply the wants of the deserving poor within that territory, if they will accept its ministrations, as I believe they would. To restore the buried doctrine of some correspondence between character and relief, to give, that is to say, to the administrators of relief the right to consider the past history and present life of the recipient, would do more to raise the moral tone of our pauper population than all other means put together. And if a church which establishes a mission would boldly take over the support of the poor, and if the poor were aware that it is to that church or missionary agency they must look, I can see a speedy end to the evils of overlapping which at present make our Home Missions an expensive disgrace to the Church of Christ. There is scarcely a mission district in a great city in which three or four competing churches are not ministering to the poor without taking any account of each other; and at the same time in that very district the stated wants of the permanent poor are left by all of them to the necessarily hard officialism of the Poor Law inspector. Churches would think twice about undertaking a mission if they were aware that a mission meant not only the opening of a Hall and the providing of an occasional week-night service and Sunday sermons, and some more or less occasional doles of coals and old clothes, but also the sufficient clothing

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of all the destitute, the regular feeding of all the hungry, and the education of all the young. The Church of Christ, as we have seen, was founded upon work done for the poor, and not for the poor in respect of their spiritual wants alone. Christ made no such severance, but took up the poor in respect of all their wants, whether of body or soul. The Divine Man, the Saviour of humanity, is not rightly served when His Church confines herself to what are called spiritual ministrations. It may be said that a Christian State is bound to provide for the wants of its pauper population, and this is doubtless true if the Church fails in doing it or is overburdened or not helped in doing its duty. The keenest observer will scarcely see in what respect the administration of Poor Law relief is moulded by Christian principle, however true the Christian motives of those who devised the Poor Law might have been, and however excellent the Christian character of the Poor Law officers. But can the Church be justified in giving over to the State her own commission? Can any congregation be healthily organised which is not bearing a sensible part of the burden of the poor? It used to be a boast of Christian apologists that while Pagan worship led not to charity but to extravagant public entertainments and such-like outlays, the worship of Christ was always in direct connection with ministry to the poor. Can that be said in our day? Think what the poor man loses when there is no religion in the "allowance" he gets. Think how it is at present. It is human obliga-

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tion, not Christian charity, that comes to him. In other words, as it touches the poor man's hand, his weekly aliment comes to him sanctified by no Christian principle, but extorted, as he thinks, by ordinary considerations of legal justice. I do not see how the Christian Church can ever expect to raise a fallen population until it recognises, when conducting a mission, that it is its duty to relieve alike the bodily and the spiritual needs of the lowest classes. Think what the Christians are losing by their remissness. What lessons of unselfishness, of considerateness, of helpfulness; what joy in receiving the thanks of the grateful poor, what blessing from Him who says, "When ye do it to my brethren, ye do it unto Me." St. Laurence was asked to surrender the treasures of the Church, and he presented the maimed and miserable paupers! If the Church in our day would rise to the height of this great commission, then men, women, and children passively congregated under the minister's preaching in a well-appointed church would find each their several duties in ministering to the men, women, and children of the "mission" which they have undertaken. Mothers' meetings for mothers, fathers' meetings for fathers, children's meetings with children, clothing for the naked, and food for the starving, as well as the ceaseless proclamation of the gospel of love—what a ministry of mercy this would mean! Not only twice blest to him that gives and him that takes, but surely blest fourfold to both.

Time does not permit our tracing the rise and work-

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ing of many Societies for relief of the Poor in the Papal Church before the Reformation, and of some—especially of the Little Sisters of the Sick Poor, founded by Vincent de Paula in 1617, and in our day associated with the bright and brief career of the gifted Ozanam—which have sprung up in the Romish Church itself in later days. Nor does time permit our tracing the rise and progress of similar institutions in the Protestant Church. In that Church they did not begin early; perhaps the Church had too hard a battle to fight for bare life in Germany and Scotland; while in England the able-bodied poor man never lost his legal right to relief, and voluntary charity seemed to be little needed at the hands of the Church.

But perhaps, too, there was something too much of doctrine in the creeds of the Protestant Reformation. When our Confession of Faith deals with good works it refers entirely to their doctrinal value in the sight of God; and there is not one word of counsel—not even borrowing St. Paul's counsel—that they who have believed in God be careful to maintain good works.[1] There is no such teaching as our Lord's own dramatic representation of the Day of Judgment ought to have suggested; no word bidding men feed the hungry and clothe the naked, and visit those in prison if they would find acceptance with the Elder Brother of the poor and needy. However much we admire the grand chain of noble truths wound around the Ark of the Covenant of the Faith in our ancestral creed, we must

[1] The (forgotten) *Book of Discipline* has the poor in mind.

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feel that it never brings within our ken the schooling and strengthening of faith by service of the Redeemer. Yet who does not know—who that ever tried it—that to minister to Christ in the poor and needy, to comfort some mourner, to feed some hungry child, to rescue and lift some one that has stumbled and fallen, is the surest path to blessing for oneself, provided it is not done for the sake of that blessing? Was not that what Jesus meant when he said that whosoever giveth a cup of cold water shall receive a disciple's reward? What can a disciple's reward be but the reward of better discipleship? And yet loving eyes will search in vain through the Confession of Faith and the Shorter Catechism if they seek any such reminder and counsel. And thus it is that our creeds sought to act on the Reason and the Soul without directing the whole Humanity to arise and work the work of Christ among our brethren and His.

We live in a better time and (as we shall see under the head of Woman's Work) there are many organisations and societies whose members have dedicated their lives to Care of the Poor. As the trumpet of Reformation was sounded in Germany, and Europe and Christendom rang again, it is fitting that the still small voice calling the Church to works of brotherhood and helpfulness should come as it does from Germany too. Not only woman's work from Kaiserswerth, but men's work too from the Rough House and the Mission House at Basel, and from the splendid municipal provision for the poor in Elberfeld and Leipsic, and from many a centre of influence in the Fatherland is being done with

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the union of strength and tenderness that is as characteristic of a German Christian as of a German hymn. Would that we were also doing more! I cannot see why men should have to go outside of all churches to make a Prisoners' Aid Society, or an Orphanage, or a Magdalene Institution, or a Charity Organisation, or a Free Breakfast, or a Dorcas Club; but I see many reasons why the Church should burst from her hard shell of "doctrine" (which does not really represent more than a part of the doctrine of Christ) and embrace and enclose them all. All that is Church work, for it is Christ's work. As Luther said: "After the function of preaching the Gospel there is in the Church no higher function than this stewardship that a man shall honourably and righteously distribute the goods of the Church, so that poor Christians who cannot earn their own livelihood should be helped, and never suffer the pangs of want" (Werke, xiii. 2466, Walch, Halle, 1743).

There is, however, ample proof that present distress is not likely to be cured by churches. It is a sad thing to say, but it is true. Churches do not amalgamate or combine for the relief of the poor; they do not even work out separately the same principles of relief. The State has had, as we saw, to step in and legislate for the poor without calling for the aid of the Church of Christ. The poor have been benefited thereby—and the churches have suffered in the national proclamation that their aims are too narrow and their efforts too weak to be worthy of the cause they profess to represent. But this is not all. At this moment all men are awakening to

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the further truth that present legislation is inadequate, as inadequate as the work of the Church. The hopeless poverty of many millions of the population, the absolute destitution of some millions, call for greater efforts, and more systematic. Human hearts and hands are needed, not only to feed the hungry and to clothe the naked, but to lift up the downcast, and to guide their feet in the way of well-doing and usefulness. Mere officials cannot do all this. The Church, of course, ought to supply them; and if all the denominations would unite to furnish such supply, the Kingdom of Christ might be seen. One cannot be without hope that the cause of Social Reform will one day unite those who quarrel over Creeds and doctrinal definitions. Meanwhile, however, what is to be done? What will be the next step?

The *Salvation Army* is not a Church; it was originally an attempt to evoke and organise Christian zeal apart from all churches, and it has neither a stated ministry nor sacraments. It would surpass wonder that it should, notwithstanding, have so many unmistakable tokens of Divine Aid in its work, if we did not see how much of Christ's spirit and purpose there is in the heart of "the Army." That a great Christian Society should have no sacraments is, from one point of view, fatal to its permanency, but it is dangerous for churches which have sacraments and little of the Master's spirit to plume themselves on their superiority to the followers of General Booth. Circumcision availeth nothing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature. Even as in His

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lifetime, Jesus Christ, by whose blessing we all live, has to bless and own very imperfect followers, and we should learn a wider charity and a more serious self-examination if we asked ourselves what it is in the work of the Salvation Army which Christ has owned and so signally blessed. Surely we may say it is the message delivered to the poor. The soldiers of the Army have been among the poor as one that serveth; and the personal dedication of the service of a life is accepted. The drunkards reclaimed, the fallen restored, the useless rescued to usefulness, the poor people now praising the Redeemer as their own Deliverer, those are the proofs that Christ's work is being done.[1] Here and there a zealous congregation had done something of the same kind, but a church never. The soldiers are not paid as men who work so hard might well be, but they toil for a bare maintenance—I fear they are often nearly starved—and it is truly a grand thing to realise how many thousands of men and women are giving their lives to the service of Christ as men and women gave theirs in the first fervour of Christian history. The soldiers of the Salvation Army have the inalienable honour of seeing the meaning of the dark problem of poverty, and of

[1] I regret to feel it necessary to say that the authoress of *A Colony of Mercy* allows herself in *Britain's Next Campaign* to condemn the Salvation Army because the proceedings at an evening meeting were not to her mind. She was scared by the way "converts" were made. But on her own principles she ought to have examined and appreciated the unparalleled work done by those poor people after they were "converted." That chapter is, I think, a blot on her splendid book. Few can write as she writes; few are so full of noble zeal.

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making an honest attempt with all their might to solve it.

The Church of England, wiser in this than any other section of the Church of Christ, set itself to imitate the work of the Salvation Army, and its labours also have been crowned with great success. In the last published Report of "The Church Army" (1904) the public is informed that £148,000 was spent last year on the work, and that there are many thousand persons employed in its great Crusade. This army is not separated from the organised Church; the converts are drafted into the congregations, and the operations in a parish are under the control of the incumbent. It is not easy to see how more could be done in this way; in some respects Christ is more wisely preached than by the representatives of the Salvation Army; and the great social position of the Church of England lends its dignity to this organisation, which is under the Church. At the same time, one may doubt whether the present form of close connection with the Church is all gain. This "Army" is probably saved by it from some dangers of extravagance in preaching, but it must lose in spontaneity; and the very fact that its Evangelists and Mission Nurses are, as a rule, well paid officials, puts them in a less favourable relation than the Salvation Army to those whom they desire to elevate. The Church Army is a special class of missionaries: but something more than this is wanted; the need is for the members of the Church, as such, to do the work without being officials who do nothing else. The

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Church Army is a great step in advance, but it is not an ideal.

Is the State anywhere ahead of the Church in this matter? Perhaps not the State, meaning thereby a nation, but the municipality is certainly ahead of the Church in Elberfeld, with 140,000 inhabitants, and in Leipsic with 400,000. In Elberfeld, under the presidency of a banker, 500 (in Leipsic there are 1000) men of all professions and most trades, united and organised themselves to see to it that no poor man shall starve or go ragged, no child grow up uncared for, and none, old or young, shall perish with cold. Those Helpers of the Poor dwell in the districts for which they are responsible. In forty years this method has reduced the expenditure for poor relief at Elberfeld from 3s. 6d. per head of the population to 1s. 7½d. per head, and at infinite gain to the poor and needy. It is impossible to go into details here. But enough has been said to show that in those cities the State (or rather the people) is ahead of all that our British churches do or even attempt. Certainly we must remember that the Germans are an order-loving people, accustomed to be directed in that order, whereas in Great Britain there is a tendency to resist any moral direction that is more than a suggestion. The German Church, as such, knows little of the congregational tie, with the pastor as leader of good works; whereas with us every living congregation is at work, and the pastor is almost invariably the leader. This means that the good and willing people are already at work. The churches do not love each other so sincerely that they

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will unite in organised social effort. Those considerations show how different Germany is from Great Britain. They show that it is not all an advantage for us to be so bound up with our churches—churches which will not unite and will not help each other. The conclusion is as necessary as it is sad, that the social work of Christ among us may be undertaken by Christians, but not as representatives of churches. There is no prospect that it would be on a sufficient scale. Yet this must be said, that while it is unlikely political patriotism will supply a sufficient band of workers in England and Scotland with staying power to undertake such work as the civic social work of Elberfeld or Leipsic, it is certain that from men, possessed of the Christian spirit, there might be organised a body, company, or association to undertake such a work and to do it for years, when others like-minded could take their places. This alas! would not be the "Church's care of the poor," but it would be Christians, independently of their churches, doing Christ's work in the world. And, so that the work is done, we might be glad.

Glad for the sake of the poor: but how sadly be humbled for our churches! They do not enter in themselves, and such as would enter in they hinder.

NOTE ON HOSPITALS. See pp. 106-8.

In the early Church the Hospitals were attended by Parabolani (devoted), so called because of the peril into which they put their lives. They were a lower order of clergy. The church widows were sometimes allied with them. Many Hospitals were an offering to expiate their sins. Fabiola, who founded a hospital

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in Rome and often (like Sister Dora in our own times) carried the sick on her own shoulders, did it because she believed she was tending the Saviour Himself. Theodoret (v. 19) praises the Empress Placilla, who waited on the sick as a serving-maid might, saying, It beseems the Emperor to distribute gold, but I am giving my own service to the Great Giver of all power.

The Order of St. John was a great power in the Middle Ages. St. John's Hospital in Jerusalem was at first maintained by gifts from Italy. Godfrey of Bouillon afterwards endowed it with lands in Flanders and in Palestine. In 1113 Pope Paschalis II. created the Order. In addition to their vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, its members dedicated themselves to the care of the sick, and later to the overthrow of unbelief. A black cloak with a white cross was their garb. The sick were to have white bread, those attendants black bread. Napoleon took their last refuge, Malta, in 1798. They were nearly extinct till revived by Frederick William IV. in 1852.[1]

When Basil the Great in 369 built his great hospital in Cesarea, he set a church in the centre, and around it were places for beds, and also for workshops, and homes for doctors and nurses. There was a great department for lepers. Since the thirteenth century the models for a hospital have been found in the palaces of the nobility. The Hospital of the Holy Spirit in Rome, rebuilt by Innocent III. (1198-1216), served as the model for succeeding years. The Hotel Dieu in Paris was the most renowned hospital in Europe from the seventh century. It was burnt in the end of the eighteenth century—none too soon, if all stories be true, for it had from 3000 to 4000 sick in 1233 beds. The convalescent, the dying, and the dead were lying on one bed, with a board between each pair. Modern systems of ventilation date in theory from the burning of the Hotel Dieu a hundred years ago, but in practice from the middle of the nineteenth century. During the Crimean War it was found that in the camp hospitals at Balaklava, short of every appliance but with plenty of air, the mortality was only 3 per cent, while in the great hospital at Scutari three out of five died. The present state of Hospitals makes us appreciate the self-sacrificing chivalry of Florence Nightingale, who sees in her old age the completeness of the revolution her devotedness brought about fifty years ago.

[1] On the whole subject see Haefer (Berlin, 1857), especially pp. 47 and ff.

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NOTE ON THE EUCHARIST (from p. 95)

The text contains what seems to me most probable, but it is a difficult subject. I think *Justin Martyr*, who has (*Apol.* i. cc. 65, 66, 67) two descriptions, means that between the general prayer and the prayer of special thanksgiving (later called consecration) came the kiss of charity (so *Bingh.* xv. iii. 3). The *Canons of Hippolytus*, xxxvi. 188 (Achelis, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, A.D. 1891, p. 112) say that first-fruits of the earth are to be brought to the Bishop in church, who is "*before all things* to give thanks over them to God," and to ask that they be blessed to satisfy the poor, and that the donor and his children may receive the blessings of wisdom and life eternal. Those gifts are an offering to God, and God is to be blessed for them. This seems to point to the presentation of the gifts, and prayer on account of them, before the sacramental supper begins. They were to be distributed to the needy after the supper and before dark. Swete (*Journ. Theol. Stud.* Jan. 1902, p. 163) says that in the thanksgiving or benediction pronounced over the Bread and the Cup "our Lord followed Jewish usage and possibly used Jewish forms"; and Professor W. B. Stevenson sends me a learned note reminding us that in the *Didaché* the Thanksgiving Prayer is on the model of the Jewish grace before meals, which does not ask a blessing on the food, but gives thanks for it. Justin's descriptions imply this (cc. 65 and 67); compare his *Dialogue*, c. 41.

On what the meaning of the Sacrament is, there were many views, yet not far apart. All agree that the Elements are Christ's Body and Blood, but how far in a "corporal" sense the fathers are not agreed. The *Didaché* regards them as Christ in a mystical sense; *Justin* seems to say that through prayer coming from Christ they become His flesh and blood, while still retaining the properties of bodily food; *Irenæus* argues against the Gnostics that they are still real food and yet spiritual; *Tertullian* says that Christ made the Bread His Body by saying "This is My Body." There is a significant absence in ante-Nicene monuments of any reference to the adoration of Christ in the Eucharist (Swete, *op. cit.*); see for Justin further *Dial.* cc. 41, 70, 107.

What was Consecration? I think we have the key in Ambrose on *The Mysteries*, c. ix. "The words of the Lord Jesus make the change of the elements into the Body." See also the doubtful *De Sacr.* b. 4, c. 4. It appears that the words of Jesus saying, *This is my Body*, were used in a prayer for their fulfilment. Sometimes it would seem as if *only* the very words were used. Gregory Nyssen says, "The Bread is sanctified by the Word of God and Prayer." And with this men of many minds agreed then, as they agree in our day.

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CHAPTER VII

ORGANISATION OF WOMEN'S WORK

The Diaconate until the Reformation

It is impossible to find a systematic code of regulations in the New Testament for the appointment or the duties of any of the officials of the Church. We have seen this in the case of Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons. If, then, this be so, we cannot expect symmetry and system to be exhibited in the organisation of woman's work in the Apostolic Age. Phœbe was a Deaconess, but of the first appointment of Deaconesses we have no trace. There were "widows" in the sphere of Timothy's work, but it is not easy to say how many were enrolled that they might be supported, and how many in order to work, or how many for both purposes. It is not fair to fix our gaze on one side of the picture only and shut out the other. A man may solve the knot by saying, All "widows were almswomen in Scripture, while Deaconesses were quite different" (so Ludlow does), or another may say, "The sisterhood of widows is nothing more than that of Deaconesses" (so Bunsen), but in neither case can we accept the statement as complete.

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Some say that we do not depend on Scripture alone; and that we must take tradition into account, but tradition means Church History, and it certainly does not remove the obscurity of Scripture.

Let us turn to Church History. One only needs to remember that Ignatius, in the second century, says "the virgins who were called widows," and that the Council of Epaône (A.D. 517) says "widows, whom they usually call Deaconesses," to be assured that Church History gives us no invariable line of demarcation between those three orders of women in the Church—virgins, widows, Deaconesses. It is long since any one of the names was in use to describe a Church Order. "Sisterhoods" take them all in, and that is no Scriptural Order at all. The "Apostolical Constitutions," dating, in part, from the third century, distinguish between Deaconess, widow, and virgin, while giving to each a place in the Church official rolls.[1] But from an early date the Western Church knew little of Deaconesses, while it was filled with the labours and honours of widows and virgins.

[1] Yet not at all the same place. The widows are to be obedient to their bishops, and their presbyters, and their deacons, and *besides these to the Deaconesses*, with piety, reverence, and fear (*Ap. Constit.* iii. c. 7). The Deaconess is also described as conveying to the widow the charity of the church (iii. 14). "Concerning virginity we have received no commandment, but leave it to the power of those who are willing, as a vow" (B. iv. 14). "Deaconesses were ordained because the Diaconate was a type of service; widows and virgins were not ordained because theirs was only a condition of life" (Ludlow, p. 22). The widows and virgins were said to be "consecrated" (not ordained). The distinction between Deaconess and widows is by no means always observed. The (supposed) Fourth Council of Carthage in 398 gives to widows and virgins the function of instructing female catechumens (see Hefele, book viii. p. 412).

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The Eastern Church was equally full of Deaconesses. Both Churches abolished all trace of the female Diaconate long before the Protestant Reformation. No considerable Protestant Church up to 1886 ever fully recognised a female Diaconate, yet many private Associations appropriated the title, and all Protestant Churches, and some that would reject the name of Protestant, nevertheless carry on their actual work by clergy and women. There is very little work done by laymen in comparison with what women do. Laymen have done great things, exceptional and individual laymen, but they have usually found it necessary to give up their ordinary secular avocations, and devote themselves to the particular missionary enterprise in which God has blessed them. They have not found others ready to share their burden. But women have seldom been left solitary by their own sex when they try to heal the ills of humanity, and apart altogether from official appointment of sisterhoods, there is no good work undertaken by the Christian Church in which "chief women, not a few," are not to be found heartily co-operating with each other as its chief supporters.

And yet when we ask under what name women have been most usually organised, it is not possible to answer. They had no special class-name in the Saviour's lifetime—those women who ministered unto Him. They were disciples, perhaps: even not certainly that till later on: apostles they were not. They have no special class-name in the Acts of the Apostles, those women who were of the company of disciples. Priscilla had

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no official name, nor had Philip's daughters,[1] nor had Dorcas. But yet in that same period Phœbe was a Deaconess, and soon after that Timothy had a roll and order of "widows," which required new regulations, and must therefore have been some time in existence. When we come down through the centuries there is the same variation of names. We find Deaconesses, church-widows, virgins, nuns. We find all the names successively disregarded in the Church: and yet the inextinguishable Christian devotedness of women always asuming some new form in order that they might do some of the work of Christ's kingdom. All those early workers were drawn from the community without specific training, except what they might have found in their experience of life.

It is not easy to say what special causes led to the discontinuance of the order of Deaconesses. Many theories have been made, each of them probably containing some part of the truth. Deaconesses had been always more needed in the East than in the West, because their ministry was essentially social, and the social position of women in Asia Minor, and throughout the Eastern section of the Empire, was one of greater seclusion than in the Western, requiring therefore the ministry of woman. Both in the East and West, however, the idea of the ministry of each sex as a special caste overturned the earlier and better principles under which the officials of the Church were men and women discharging sacred functions along with the duties of

[1] Unless indeed they were counted among the prophets.

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daily life. This led to nuns superseding Deaconesses. In the East, as we see from the experience of Chrysostom, Deaconesses were official members of the congregation; and this, probably, led to the order continuing longer than in the West, where the congregational idea was not so powerful. But even in the East there seemed to be less need of Deaconesses when, with the spread of Christianity, baptism of children became the rule instead of adult baptism. There was no longer need for Deaconesses to prepare female catechumens. There was also an element of independence in the position of a Deaconess which made her, especially in the West, troublesome to the male ecclesiastical authorities. While the vows of a nun, centring in obedience, made it easy for an ecclesiastic to govern a nunnery by mere authority, the Deaconess, who was ordained to do many fixed duties as well as some that were indefinite, had a more secure position, and her life was under the influence and protection of public opinion. The clergy, therefore, were more jealous of Deaconesses than of nuns, for such is human nature. Councils disputed the ordination of Deaconesses, and doubted their right to official seats in view of the congregation, and as the members of the Diaconate were thus discouraged, and the order was attenuated, devout women were increasingly attracted into nunneries. This process was hastened in the West more than in the East. Popes found it easier to govern nuns than Deaconesses, inasmuch as the latter were always more connected with the local bishop than the former were.

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Perhaps the principal stages of the history of woman's work in the early Church may be presented in an almost tabular form at intervals of about a century.

I. *Period ending* A.D. 100.—In the period ending about A.D. 100 we find that the absolute freedom of the Church led to many various functions and honours being attached to Christian women. The varied custom of the Apostolic time still continued: there were women without class-names, also Deaconesses like Phœbe, and those of 1 Tim. iii. 11 (not "wives" but female deacons). In St. Paul's Pastoral Epistles there is undoubted mention of a special class who were called widows, whose functions he defines and whose qualifications he recounts. It seems, indeed, that there were two classes (1 Tim. v.)—one (vv. 9 ff.) of women old, and lone, and poor, who needed support; another of women who had occupied a good position in life, and, having used it well, were now desirous of being registered as workers for the Church (vv. 3-8). Notices forty years later show similar variety.

About the end of the first century Pliny, as Governor of Bithynia, was desirous of ascertaining the truth about Christianity; and, in order to gain knowledge, the elegant Roman did not hesitate to put two officials to the torture, choosing official women as less likely than men to resist the solicitations of torment; and those women were Deaconesses, "Ancillae quae ministrae dicebantur."[1] One reason for his fixing upon them

[1] "Quo magis necessarium credidi ex duabus ancillis, quae ministrae dicebantur, quid esset veri et per tormenta quaerere" (Pliny's letter to Trajan). *Ministrae* is the Latin translation of

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to give him information may have been that they had official duties in the meetings about which he was inquiring. Not long after this period the oldest Christian Roman, Hermas, speaks of Grapte as having authority over widows and orphans. Grapte is not said to be a Deaconess; but in later times a Deaconess was often over widows or virgins (see *Apost. Constit.* iii. 7).[1] Near the same time, Ignatius salutes the Christian household, and the "virgins who are called widows"; in which passage he probably means *widows* whose holy continence and activity were so valuable to the Church.[2]

II. *Period ending about* A.D. 200.—We pass over a century, and about the year A.D. 200 we find Tertullian in North Africa, silent about Deaconesses, but full of the difficulties of arranging for Church widows and virgins. (His testimony comes next in date of Latin

the Greek διάκονοι, which meant deacons of either sex. In later times διακονίσσα was used to denote the deaconess.

[1] Polycarp speaks of widows as a church-order or class, always engaged in prayer for all and free from meanness and blame; and reminds them that they are God's altar, and that all their sacrifices —*i.e.* their words and thoughts —are minutely inspected by God.

[2] This view of Lightfoot's seems to solve the long-standing difficulty quite satisfactorily. (Lightfoot, *Ignatius*, vol. ii. p. 322). To suppose that Ignatius salutes those who, really virgins, were called widows, is open to many objections. Were there no other "widows"? If there were, why did he not salute them also? If virgins were already eligible as widows, why does Tertullian, many years afterwards, speak (see next note) of the "collocation" of a young virgin of twenty in the widow-order as a "monstrous thing"? It is true what he specially denounces is the appointing of one not more than twenty years old, but he also vehemently dwells upon the anachronism of installing virgins in the widows' honoured place in church (*De Veland. Virg.* c. 9).

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writers after Pliny.) Tertullian argues that virgins ought to be veiled in Church: that just as they veil from heathens in the streets, they should veil from Christians in Church. He urges married women to wear a full covering for their heads, and not a small tuft of something or other in mere pretence: and quaintly argues that the "head" which women are to cover is the whole head. In the course of his vehement, sometimes coarse, argument he lets us see incidentally what the position of women was. "Women are not allowed to 'talk in Church,' but the same prohibition applies also to teaching, baptizing, offering, or any manly function, lest they should claim for themselves a share in sacerdotal office"[1] (Tertullian, *De Virginibus Velandis*, c. 9).

[1] We have ample proof in Tertullian's writings that the merits of celibacy were growing in common esteem, so that, even in the assemblies of worshippers, special honours were paid to virgins; and that some of them, when admitted as church-widows, still went unveiled, inasmuch as they were virgins. It is after the passage quoted in the text he goes on to speak of a case in which a virgin of less than twenty years of age had been placed in the order of widows, whereas, had the bishop wished to make some provision for her, he might easily have found some less objectionable way. Thus it would appear that, at this time, those enrolled as "widows" received salary or support from the Church. It does not seem that they were very active: they were honoured and provided for. The same idea of honour rather than of office, honour with support when it was needed, may be found in the Clementine *Homilies* (in part probably) of earlier date than Tertullian. It names "widows who have lived well," among those who are to be suitably "honoured." The passage which undoubtedly refers to support, because it cites the Lord's example as taking support in order to live, says, "Therefore suitably honour elders, catechists, useful deacons, widows who have lived well, orphans as children of the church" (Clem. *Hom.* iii. 71).

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III. *Period ending about* A.D. 350.—**After about another century we are in the era of Constantine and the Nicene Council, when the Christian religion became** the religion of the ruler of the State; and the Church, amid great outward prosperity, was rent to its centre by controversies regarding doctrine. In those controversies women had great influence, mostly on the wrong side! Athanasius[1] complains of them. We are disappointed to find so little about the ministry of women in the work of the Church, but, thanks to recent discoveries, we can now show an official document of the third century directing the Deaconess to assist in the baptism of women, to teach and educate them afterwards, and to visit and nurse the sick (*Syriac Didascalia Apostolorum*, translated by Mrs. Dunlop Gibson, LL.D., c. xvi.).[2]

[1] Athanasius, *Hist. Arian. ad Monachos*, c. 5.

[2] Julian compelled virgins and widows (who were reckoned among the clergy, ἐν τοῖς κλήροις) to refund the provision which had been assigned to them from public sources. When Constantine adjusted the temporal concerns of the Church he had devoted a sufficient portion of the taxes raised upon every city to support the clergy everywhere (Sozomen, v. 5).

We find one interesting passage among the canons of the Nicene Council. There was a sect called Paulianists, followers of Paul of Samosata, who were heretical on the doctrine of the Trinity, and it is enacted that they were to be re-baptized if admitted to the orthodox Communion, and their priests to be re-ordained. Then follows a difficult sentence regarding Deaconesses, and all who are ranked "in the list" (canon). "We remind those Deaconesses who were in this position that, as they have not had any imposition of hands, they must be classed merely among the laity." There has been much dispute about this, but we may conclude that some Deaconesses were unwilling to be ostracised with the rest of the Paulianists, and they were reminded that—owing to some peculiarity of procedure in

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IV. *From about* A.D. 350 *to the end, in the West.*—The year 400, using the date with some latitude, is the centre of the chief epoch of our historical survey. Councils, great and small, deal with the official position of women; learned fathers speak at some length of it; Canons, claiming to date from the Apostles, legislate upon it; the Eastern and Western divisions of the Church are seen to take opposing views of it; and, above all, the growing admiration of celibacy culminates in the predominance of Monasticism, in which Scriptural female ministry of women was, along with many other good things, eventually absorbed.

To begin with the "Apostolic Constitutions and Canons," a composite work, probably of various dates, some parts of A.D. 400, some even 150 years earlier. The Constitutions treat the Deaconess as precisely on a level with the Deacon, but having her special duties among the female members of the Church. And she is not only recognised as being on the clerical staff, but is ordained exactly as her male colleague was.[1] "The Deaconess," said Lightfoot, "was not a member of a community, but the officer of a congregation." In the assembly of the

the Paulianist Churches—they had received no ordination whatever. The subject of the ordination of women will come before us more fittingly at the next stage; but we may meanwhile note the fact that Deaconesses were sufficiently well known in the Eastern Church to be legislated for when the First Great Church Council sat. Compare Hefele, i. 430, Lauchert's Canons, and Bright's Canons (1892). See Armitage Robinson in his appendix to his sister's book (p. 208), Cecilia Robinson on *The Ministry of Deaconesses*, London, 1898.

[1] See especially viii. 19, 20.

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congregation the Bishop, who is compared to the commander of a great ship, is enjoined to give the Deacon charge of the doors by which men enter, while the Deaconess, in like manner, is to stand at the doors for the women and arrange places. "The very same thing let the Deaconess do to the women, whether rich or poor, that come unto them." She was to give charity, travel about, "minister and serve." "Let not any woman address herself to the deacon or bishop without the deaconess" (*Constit.* bk. ii. 57, 58; iii. 14, 19; ii. 26). [Comp. Ep. of Clem. to James, c. 14; prefixed to Clementine *Homilies.*]

Elsewhere the widows are enjoined to be subject to the Deaconesses with piety, reverence, and fear; and many directions are given to widows[1] which are an amplification of the injunctions of St. Paul, with no special importance for us except that they show that widows were distinct from deaconesses.[2] At the solemn service of the ordination of a Deaconess the following beautiful form is enjoined:—

[1] *Apost. Constit.* bk. iii. 7; and also cc. 1, 3; and ii. 25 (end).

[2] "Let not a bishop or a presbyter or a deacon or any *one else of the sacerdotal catalogue* defile his tongue with calumny. . . . For which reason, O bishop, do thou appoint deacons as thy fellow-workers and labourers for life and for righteousness, such as thou approvest to be worthy among all the people, and such as shall be unencumbered [ready] for the necessities of the diaconate. Appoint also a deaconess who is faithful and holy for the services to the women. For sometimes thou canst not send a man-deacon to the women, because of the unbelievers. Thou shalt therefore send a woman-deacon because of the imaginings of the bad. For we need a woman-deaconess, for many necessities, and first in the baptism of women," and ff. (*Apost. Constit.* bk. iii. c. 15.

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Concerning a Deaconess, I, Bartholomew, direct: O Bishop, thou shalt lay thy hands upon her with the presbytery standing beside, and the deacons and deaconesses, and shalt say:—

"O Eternal God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Creator of man and of woman, who didst fill with the Spirit Miriam, and Deborah, and Anna, and Huldah; who didst not disdain that Thy Only-Begotten Son should be born of a woman, who also in the tabernacle of the testimony, and in the temple, didst appoint women to be guardians of Thy holy gates—do Thou now also look down upon this Thy servant, who is to be appointed to the office of a deaconess, and grant her the Holy Spirit, and cleanse her from all defilement of flesh and spirit, that she may worthily accomplish the work committed to her, to Thy glory and to the praise of Thy Christ, with Whom, glory and worship be to Thee and the Holy Spirit for ever. Amen"[1] (*Apost. Constit.* viii. cc. 19, 20).

While the Deaconess is thus solemnly ordained, it is expressly said that the virgin is not ordained, nor the widow[2] (cc. 24, 25).

The Deaconesses had a special place set apart for them in Church, and, where widows were honoured, there seems to have been a similar respect paid to them. There were official seats to which they were expected to go. There seems to have grown up a confused idea that certain elderly official women had rank and place equivalent to that of elders; and the Council of Laodicea (after the middle of the fourth century, perhaps A.D. 364) gives a vigorous prohibition of their being solemnly installed with that view: "The installation of those called elderly women or female presidents in church shall not take place."[3] This does not bear

[1] The word for "appoint" is προχειρίζομαι (εἰς διακονίαν).

[2] Another passage says that deaconesses are not, like deacons, to assist Bishops and Presbyters in the Eucharist (*Apost. Constit.* viii. 28).

[3] The Greek is περὶ τοῦ μὴ

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upon the offices of Deaconess and widow, but puts an end to the manufacture of another class of officials for whom Scripture gives no warrant.

When we come westward in our observation of the state of the Church, other officials than Deaconesses meet us on every hand. Deaconesses have never been accepted by the Roman Church to the same extent as by the Eastern, and it is of widows and dedicated virgins that the Councils of Hippo and Carthage and Nimes treat. "Priests are not to consecrate virgins without the consent of the Bishop" (Hippo, A.D. 393, Can. 34); widows or virgins are not to be consecrated unless they are competent to instruct ignorant women how to answer questions at baptism (Carthage, Fourth Synod, Can. 12).[1] This is Deaconess-work in the East.

There is no word of the Scriptural Deaconess in those injunctions, but there is abundant proof of the growth of monastic ideas, and of the absorption of all earlier offices into the ranks of nuns. It is even provided that when a virgin is presented to the Bishop for consecration, it shall be in the clothes she will thereafter wear "in accordance with her sacred calling" (Carth. (4), Can. 11).

δεῖν τὰς λεγομένας πρεσβυτίδας ἤτοι προκαθημένας ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ καθίστασθαι (Lauchert's text, p. 73). The old Latin forms of this vary, and ancient Greek renderings also differ. Epiphanius takes the word πρεσβυτίδας to denote age, not official rank; and this is the meaning in Titus ii. 3. Modern and mediæval critics and historians also take opposite sides, some arguing that it forbids deaconesses to be appointed (so Hefele); others, that it only forbids their being ordained publicly in church (so Neander). But it does not name deaconesses.

[1] This Synod (A.D. 398?) is of uncertain date, and its Canons are regarded as a compilation (some time before the sixth century) of earlier Canons.

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It is going too far to say that this abolition of the female Diaconate characterised the Western Church as a whole.[1] It was certainly true of the African Church. Monasticism was so completely predominant there that Augustine and other bishops gathered their clergy round them in such fashion as to become heads of monasteries, and Augustine's sister lived and died as head of a nunnery. The Gallican Church, like the Celtic, had always a hankering after independence of Rome, though submission was, for the most part, only a matter of time, so that it was Romanised a little later than the Italian and German churches. This tendency to resist Rome had probably been strengthened by the bringing in of Deaconesses from the Eastern Church to some parts of Gaul in the fourth century. At all events, we know that Deaconesses had still been found here and there in Gaul, because there was a Synod at Orange in the middle of the fifth century by which they were formally and summarily abolished! Even after that, the abolition was incomplete, for it had to be repeated at intervals for a hundred years. The privilege on which, it appears from frequent mention, women set so much stress, that of a special benediction in divine service, was also brought to an end in the fifth century.[2] Gallic courtesy seems to have made some bishops still

[1] It seems to have lingered here and there till perhaps the ninth or tenth century.

[2] Deaconesses shall no longer be ordained, and (in divine service) they shall receive the benediction only in common with the laity (not among those holding clerical offices). Orange, Synod of, A.D. 441, Canon 26; Hefele, iii. 163 (Eng. trans.).

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continue to honour the good ladies with the special benediction and with ordination too: because, a hundred years afterwards, some of them who had married again, in defiance of this isolating benediction, are actually excommunicated.[1] But, while the Deaconesses were thus abolished, the widows and their special dress are provided for and recognised.[2]

We see the whole process come to a head in a council which regards widowhood as the office, and the Diaconate as a mistaken name. "Widows whom they usually call deaconesses," says the Synod of Epaône,[3] (A.D. 517, Can. 21). Thus the little struggle for a Diaconate in Gaul has been killed out; monastic ideas are in the ascendant, and, as Deaconesses were never monastic, they are no more heard of in the Roman Church. A plausible reason to account for the supposed past error of the Western Church has been found by this Synod of Epaône in a statement which contradicts the Bible. The Diaconate was too free an order —of too miscellaneous usefulness—to be under the dominion of men: and so it disappeared.

V. *The East.*—Far otherwise was it in the East. There the Diaconate was flourishing in the fifth and sixth centuries. There was need to restrict to the

[1] Synod of Orleans, A.D. 533, Canon 17.

[2] Orange, A.D. 441, Canon 27.

[3] The locality of Epaôn or Epaône is uncertain. It was somewhere in Burgundy. This is the full text in Harduin: *Viduarum consecrationem, quas diaconas vocitant, ab omni regione nostra penitus abrogamus; sola eis penitentiae benedictione (benedictio?) si converti ambiunt, imponenda*, Can. 21. Hefele seems to give a defective version. See Armitage Robinson in *Ministry of Deaconesses*, p. 212, by Cecilia Robinson (1898).

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large number of forty the women who aspired to this sacred office in connection with the great Church of St. Sophia in Constantinople. There were gathered around the great bishop and greater preacher, John Chrysostom, many ladies of high birth, who counted no humiliation too great, no bodily austerity too afflicting (and, we must add, no amount of unwashedness too detrimental to health) to be undergone by them in their endeavour to adorn their sacred calling. The letters of Chrysostom tell this lady and that how much he relies on them for pious example and holy deeds. On one occasion he complains that women who had taken the vow of perpetual virginity make shipwreck on the rock of costly dress. His famous treatise on the Priesthood expatiates on the difficulty of managing widows and virgins, but does not speak of Deaconesses.

Two hundred years after Chrysostom, the Patriarch Cyriacus built a magnificent church in honour of his dead sister, who had been a Deaconess, and for centuries it was known as "the Deaconess Church." It is quite clear from decrees of subsequent Councils that for many centuries this Scriptural office of the Diaconate was a mighty power in the Eastern Church. Corruption, it is true, grew in upon it; the Deaconess ceased to go to and fro upon errands of mercy, and waited till she was sought out by applicants, or she confined her activity to conducting in some central place a class of female catechumens to prepare them for baptism, and then she became a sacerdotal official, with more and more of monastic peculiarities attaching to her, and doing less

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and less of the work which Phœbe did. It is wonderful how all Christian activity tends to stiffen into formalism, and how in those earnest days robe and ritual and processional solemnity were substitutes for the lowly ministering of which the Son of man was the Example, and which His first disciples observed and enjoined. Chrysostom struggled, not too successfully, to *reform* the widowhood, but, I have said, he does not mention the Diaconate. We see Emperors and Councils trying to fix the best age for ordination, and changing it with a frequency which shows how unsuccessful they were.[1] They tried 60, and 50, and 40; they quoted St. Paul as their authority, and yet kept Deaconesses distinct in name from widows. Sometimes they did not keep their functions satisfactorily distinct. As Monasticism rose into such pre-eminence that, in order to hold their own in public esteem, the ordinary clergy had to become monks, and sovereigns were fain to buy the favour of the popular "Orders" by gifts and privileges, the ancient Scriptural Diaconate also conformed, and became (as the parochial clergy were) subordinate to the nearest brotherhood and sisterhood.

So late as A.D. 691 the Great Council of Trullo kept Deaconesses and widows quite distinct; but that was an Oriental Council. In the end of the twelfth century they were extinct in the ordinary Church, though they lingered among the Jacobites[2] till the sixteenth

[1] See the Council of Chalcedon fixing (Can. 15), 40 (A.D. 451), while Theodosius had fixed 60 about half a century before.

[2] The Jacobites are the Monophysite Christians, so called by themselves in honour of Jacob Baradai, Bishop of Edessa (A.D.

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century.[1] So far as I know, Deaconesses were almost, if not entirely, unknown as a part of the organisation of the Protestant Church, "Reformed" or "unreformed," until about a quarter of a century ago. In 1880 the Alliance of Presbyterian Churches, which met in Belfast, appointed a Committee to consider the propriety of reviving the Scriptural Order. At the next meeting of the Alliance, held in London in 1885, it was unanimously agreed, in accordance with the report of that Committee, to recommend the revival of the Order on a Scriptural basis, and as a recognised branch of Church organisation.[2] In 1886 the Church of Scotland carried that recommendation into effect and laid down Rules and Regulations, according to which women should be trained for the work they proposed to undertake. A Deaconess House for systematic training was established, and candidates for the Diaconate coming by that

541), who revived the Patriarchate of Antioch, and resuscitated the Monophysite sect everywhere. The Monophysites are found in Syria, Armenia, and Egypt; but the Jacobites, perhaps specially so called, are in the first-named division, and are under the Patriarch of Antioch, whose sway is owned from Mesopotamia to Palestine.

[1] There were at the Reformation several societies of United Brothers and Sisters. The sisterhoods in their several houses served or span and nursed the sick. There was one such house at Herford in Westphalia where the sisters and brothers gave up the mass and became preachers and taught children, keeping their former garb. Luther wrote asking the municipality to let them be. Another community in Wallsdorf also became Protestant (see Schäfer, i. 70).

[2] I have pleasure in remembering that when I gave in the Report of the Committee—at the appointment of which many good men had expressed their doubts and fears—its adoption was moved by the eminent historian of the Church, Dr. Philip Schaff, and seconded by a distinguished minister of New York, Dr. John Hall; and its adoption, as said in the text, was unanimous.

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avenue were required to be two years in training before they are set apart. It was also, however, provided that one who has for not less than seven years been known as a worker in the congregation of which she is a member may be set apart without further training. In either case, whether the candidate comes through the Institution, or through seven years of parish work, the kirk-session which ordains has to secure the sanction of the Presbytery of the bounds before proceeding to ordination. A Deaconess Hospital has also been opened, and in it, under the charge of a Deaconess, herself a trained nurse, candidates are trained in sick-nursing. Many Deaconesses are now at work in Scottish parishes and not a few are in the mission-fields of Africa, India, China, and Asia Minor. It is not too much to say that the Female Diaconate is now regarded with universal favour and respect throughout the Church of Scotland. Many of the Deaconesses work at their own charges, some at home and some abroad. It seemed a great step, this revival of the Diaconate, but, as we look back, we are convinced that a bolder and more complete plan would have secured even better results. Perhaps, at some not distant future day, the defects may be supplied.

But the ministry of women was never confined to the Diaconate, though the above was, as far as we know, the first official sanction of Deaconesses by a corporate Protestant Church; nor has the Diaconate been without imitation of the thing and appropriation of the name in our own day, although, in several cases, not the office of any church, but the result of private enterprise.

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CHAPTER VIII

ORGANISATION OF WOMAN'S WORK OTHER THAN THE DIACONATE; AND THE DIACONATE IN THE CHURCHES OF THE REFORMATION

LET us now cast a rapid view backward on *the ministry of women other than the Diaconate.*

The two divisions of widows in the Apostolic Church, the one comprising such widows as received Church support, and the other made up of those who discharged certain social and domestic duties for the Church, occur to us. Those two divisions were probably never quite distinct. Those who worked would often receive some salary; those who received support would try to do such work as they could. Their work was mainly social and domestic; their sphere was among the Christian women and families round their doors; evangelistic labours and distant embassies, such as those of Priscilla and Phœbe, were probably unknown to them. But, nevertheless, there grew up a great reverence for those widows, who were "widows indeed," and servants of the Church. In the West it prevailed to such extent that no other order of women-workers could hold its

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own against the widowhood. Women who were not widows coveted and appropriated the name; though some of them were girls, as in the case Tertullian mentions; some of them were Deaconesses, as we have seen, three centuries later in Gaul. In Julian's time widows were reckoned among the clergy[1] (see before, p. 138, note 2). But they were not to be teachers or preachers. They were to be the "Altar of God," from which prayers constantly ascend, but they were not to gad about, "for the Altar of God never runs about, but is fixed in one place" (*Apost. Constit.* iii. 6).

This order too was swallowed up in Monasticism: but there was always—or at least from an early age—an unwarranted order of *Church virgins* who formed an easy foothold for monastic theories. Earlier than Tertullian, there are obscure references to holy virginity; but Tertullian's fiery praise of a celibate life in his Montanist days left a permanent impression on the African Church. Cyprian counts virginity higher than marriage; Athanasius points to virgins as a proof of the grace of God. Though the Apostolical Constitutions enumerate widows and virgins as separate orders, we could not found much upon the date of the injunctions regarding them which occur in that composite document; but there can be no doubt that from Tertullian and Cyprian in the West, and Athanasius in the East, had grown up such reverence for those who dedicated themselves to a virgin life that Constantine assigned them support from the State, which Julian called upon

[1] Compare *Apost. Constit.* ii. 25 (end).

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them to refund. They had a distinctive dress; they took a veil; they were counted the "brides of Christ," and bridal ceremonies, even a bridal feast, marked their marriage to the Divine Bridegroom.[1] This in the fourth century; and at this time female monachism became the rule. A convent was no great change from a "choir of perpetual virgins" attached to a particular church, and kept apart in a building of their own. Soon the Church, which had nursed the order, was under the necessity of restraining its ambition. "Women were never really priests,"[2] says Epiphanius: "Women must not ascend the Altar," says a Council: "Abbesses must not give the veil, nor assume sacerdotal functions," says another Council: "Women must not approach the altar nor handle the sacred vessels," says a third.[3]

To this day the restricted yet widespread honour paid to women who have taken a vow of perpetual celibacy is one of the most notable and successful parts of the organisation of the Roman Catholic Church.

Yet celibacy was not the only or the universal law. As early as the tenth century there began to be found societies or alliances of widows and unmarried women who were not ordained, who were under no vows of celibacy, under no special vows at all, but who were

[1] The Council of Carthage, whatever its exact date, required widows or virgins consecrated to God who were to be employed at the baptism of women to be able to instruct the catechumens as to the vows of baptism, and as to the mode of their life afterwards. See on Council, p. 142 (note).

[2] Epiphanius, ii. 2. c. 3, and c. 21.

[3] Councils of Autun about A.D. 670; Aix-la-Chapelle, A.D. 817; Paris, A.D. 829.

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united for prayer, meditation, and good work. They lived in their own homes, and found their work around their own doors. Soon they made schools and orphanages where they taught the young, and hospitals where they nursed the sick. In the twelfth century they were formed into corporations of some sort: but the Belgian Beguinages, where in the common house each has her own dwelling, and leads a semi-independent life of industry and charity while her strength lasts, seem to be what they were like all over Western Europe seven hundred years ago. They were a natural result of the Crusades. In that time of excitement and suspense, women whose husbands or lovers had fallen, or were at the war, naturally betook themselves to a life of Christian contemplation and activity without taking a monastic vow. Similar communities of men sprang up in various places. But those of women being a more natural outcome of the times, were more useful, and lasted longer. In many respects the Rules or Customs of the Beguines[1] might serve as a model for Protestant Deaconesses. Their combination of freedom and rule, of industry and charity, of individual life and common purpose, has much to commend it. That it was a natural growth of the times, not merely a church Order,

[1] The name Beguine is of uncertain origin. It seems to have begun in France, and to derive its name from Lambert de Begues, a preacher in Liège in the twelfth century. There is probable trace of similar institutions in Flanders a century earlier. Beguine and Baghad = Methodist —any one noted for piety. Two Popes ordered their suppression; the Inquisition set to carry it out; the Beguines for a time adopted St. Francis' Tertiarian vow.

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is clear from similar developments elsewhere. Thus the Tertiarians,[1] or those who followed the third Rule of St. Francis, *i.e.* who took a vow of Christian charity for religion's sake, which did not require them to leave their home or their ordinary work, prevailed over Europe. Some of the Tertiarians became ordinary monastics,[2] but many of them did not. And all of them were devoted to charity rather than to contemplation; thus anticipating the activities which mark the later centuries. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Hospitaller nuns were the precursors of our modern nursing-sisters; and no modern sisterhood can have a more beautiful vow than that of the sisters of La Pontoise: "To be all their life, for the love of Christ, the servants of the sick poor, and so far as in them lay to do and to hold until death."

There are now several forms of the organisation of women's work in Protestant countries; but it cannot be said of most of them that they are part of the organisation of the Church. They are Protestant, or at least they are not Roman Catholic Sisterhoods and Deaconess Institutions, but they are not recognised among the "orders" or offices of the Protestant Church. Some of the best-known among them sprang from the mind of one man, as great monastic orders sprang from the minds of Francis and Dominic, but they did not,

[1] See chapter iv. page 73. Elizabeth, Countess of Thuringia, is said to have been the first Tertiarian nun. The Tertiarian nuns took Saint Elizabeth as their patroness (Schäfer, *Die Arbeit der Weiblichen Diakonie*).

[2] Helyot, ii. c. 4. 3.; Ludlow p. 143.

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like the Roman Catholic societies, find their next stage in the approval of the Church and in incorporation with it. The Protestant Church has indeed never shown the same power of adopting, or even of tolerating new organisations as the Romish constantly shows. There are also more organised sects within the bosom of the Greek Church than a Protestant, whose new organisations so frequently lead to secession, can even imagine. Popes have risked their predecessors' credit for infallibility by adopting new theories against which those predecessors had fulminated; some of them have even turned their backs upon their own former declarations. In churches which are despotisms, as both the Greek and Romish churches really are, the only ultimate law is the present will of the autocratic Head; but in Constitutional Churches there is an old abiding law in creeds and other documents of which all existing Church authorities are only interpreters; and in those Constitutional Churches every new thing causes a conflict between its advocates and its opponents, both appealing to the documentary law. Thus comes the strange result that Protestant Churches have made comparatively few constitutional changes in three hundred years. Luther and Calvin and their colleagues did not provide for the organisation of woman's work, with one or two doubtful and short-lived exceptions;[1] and the Reformed

[1] The Reformed Church of the Lower Rhine, mainly composed of refugees from the Low Countries, established the office of Deaconess in 1568. The congregation of Wesel had "Deaconesses" for thirty-five years, 1575 to 1610, who were officially employed by the Presbytery among the poor and sick. Those women were

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Church has not, in its corporate capacity, organised it. Moravians (1745) appointed Deaconesses, the Baptists in Holland had them, but they never were a prominent feature. Fliedner (1833) found them in the Dutch Baptist Churches. The Anglican Church, which may be regarded as a Protestant Church, neither Lutheran nor Calvinist, has of late years largely employed the labours of Sisterhoods and Deaconesses, and first individual Bishops began to sanction and legalise them. The Deaconess Institutions are subject to the Bishops. Then two archbishops and eighteen Bishops recommended the female Diaconate in 1871. It was, notwithstanding, not yet a part of the Anglican Church system. Dean Howson, whose long life was largely occupied with the commendation of the female Diaconate, says in his posthumous work, published in 1886: "What we want is the thing itself —an authorised official Diaconate of women, as an integral part of our Church system—a body of Deaconesses co-extensive with the Church itself, ready for service wherever they are needed—and the needs are very

formally chosen and appointed. But it appears that the Scripture qualifications of Deaconesses were mixed up with those of widows; for at first married women were excluded, and at a later date they were appointed; and what with the requirement that they should be sixty years of age, and what with the growing prevalence of the idea that their work was civic rather than ecclesiastical, the institution languished and died. Moreover, the want of special training told against their success and permanency. Some other attempts at a Diaconate in English congregations in Holland about the same time had a similar history, but not so complete a conclusion. One in Amsterdam, where the Deaconess was subordinate to the Deacon, lingered on till the beginning of the nineteenth century (see Schäfer, vol. i. p. 83).

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various—but appointed and directed by the Bishops and serving under the parochial clergy."[1]

Many steps in advance have been taken since certain very cautious Principles and Rules were suggested in 1871. The Upper House of Convocation of Canterbury passed a series of resolutions on May 7, 1890, of which the first was :—

"That Deaconesses having, according to the best authorities, formed an Order of Ministry in the early Church, and having proved their efficiency in the Anglican Church, wherever the Order has been revived, it is desirable to encourage the formation of Deaconess Institutions and the work of Deaconesses in our dioceses and parishes."

And the second resolution is :—

"That a Deaconesss should be admitted in solemn form by the Bishop, with benediction by the laying on of hands."

The Order of Deaconesses after this took root in various dioceses in England, and received its crowning warrant in the formal approval of the Synod of Anglican Bishops at Lambeth in 1897. The words of the eleventh resolution are :—

"That this Conference recognises with thankfulness the revival alike of Brotherhoods and Sisterhoods, and of the Office of Deaconess in our branch of the Church, and commends to the attention of the Church the report

[1] ("Diaconate of Women in the Anglican Church," 1886). Similarly, Canon Seymour in 1881: "Some well-considered and solemn act of the Church is required both to promote such Institutions and to do them justice when established."

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of the Committee appointed to consider the relation of religious communities to the episcopate."

The third is:—

"That there should be an adequate term of preparation and probation."

The Episcopal Church in the United States of America has also approved of the Order of Deaconesses: each Deaconess to be appointed by a Bishop, who is to be satisfied by testimonials of her fitness, in particular that she has "adequate preparation for her work, both technical and religious, which preparation shall have covered the period of two years." She is to be set apart by the Bishop with imposition of hands, or by his authority, and, until an appropriate religious service is prescribed by the General Convention, the Bishop is himself to set her apart.

The well-known establishments on the continent are not Church Institutions. Kaiserswerth, the most famous of them all, was founded by Pastor Fliedner and his like-minded wife in 1833.[1] Its beneficent labours are potent in Europe, Asia, and Africa. Its trained

[1] Fliedner was not alone in his attempt to organise and develop the work of women. When Germany revived after the fall of Napoleon, Klönne (near Wesel) tried to set up the Order with enrolment for a few years; the great Baron von Stein tried to found an order, and Amelia Sieveking copied Vincent de Paul's ideas; and Count Adalbert von der Recke-Volmerstein tried it also, mainly with a view to foreign missions. These attempts all failed, but the project was in the air, and Fliedner's genius gave it form and success. There are now (A.D. 1905) 940 Deaconesses, 278 probationers, from Kaiserswerth alone. In Germany there are 81 Mother-Houses with 16,000 Deaconesses, and 5800 fields of labour.

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nurses and teachers are, in many respects, models as well as pioneers. It reclaims the fallen, educates orphans, nurses the sick, heals or soothes the insane, is the minister of parochial care of the poor in their own homes. Its agents may well be called "sisters," so loving is their tending of human need, and "Deaconesses," so much are they the ministers of Christ, and the servants of those to whom Christ Himself ministered: but they are not "Deaconesses" as in the early Church, for they are not functionaries *of the Church*. "They have no vow, their bond of union is the Word of God." They are in close association with the ecclesiastical authorities; but as they were ultimately responsible to Pastor Fliedner and his fellow-directors all his life, they are now responsible to his successors and colleagues; everything is done to make co-operation with the Church easy and effectual, but it is co-operation. The Directing Committee is the supreme authority, and the Presidents of the Provincial Synods of Rhineland and Westphalia are, as such, always members of the Directing Committee.

Similar things may be said of other Institutions, as, *e.g.* Mildmay, or Dr. Guinness' or Dr. Barnardo's in the east of London, and others. Nor are the Sisterhood societies of the Church of England, however loyal in their deference to the clergy, and however completely restricted to the membership of that Church, necessarily subject to the Church. I quote from the words of the "Religious Community of the Sisters of the Church," whose Institution in Kilburn seems to me, as regards its

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domestic and social details,[1] admirable in its combination of practical human wisdom with spiritual consecration: "To enable the sisters duly to carry out such a life of charity and devotion, they are united under a common bond of obedience. They agree to live together in submission to certain rules, and to be governed by superiors elected from their own body." Some are directly subject to the Bishop, but others are subject only to the head of their own Order.

Conclusion

We have thus seen how old and how acceptable and influential has been the ministry of women in the Church. In the days of the Redeemer's flesh, in Pauline churches, godly women working; then Deaconesses, Church widows, Church virgins; then, without speaking of convents and nunneries, the Beguines, the Hospital Nuns. Thus we come to the time when the tempest of the Reformation swept away the abuses of the Church, and there also disappeared from the Protestant part of Christendom the various forms of organisation of woman's work. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when, all over Europe, the sword was as much in hand as the Bible in name of religion, the ministry of women was little known. But in the end of the eighteenth century there began, with the revival of religion, a resuscitation of this dominant power of

[1] I can scarcely imagine better arrangements for schools, dormitories, sisters' rooms, and other details, than in this great Institution.

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usefulness; and in the nineteenth century, as congregations were much more akin to the early Church in respect of activity than could have been said of any age since the fourth century, there was an extraordinary development of the helping power of womanhood. Ministers have comparatively little help from men. And thus there has gradually come about more or less considerable organisation of women as district visitors, members of clothing societies, and such like. The contemporary predominance of Bazaars, mainly for the sale of woman's work, is one of the signs of the times. A further step in recognition, sometimes in organisation, is taken in Women's Guilds. Women are working everywhere for the Church. Yet, notwithstanding, more is needed.

It is necessary that some general, and more or less uniform, systematic use of that work be made. It was so in the early Church; St. Paul's reference to certain other workers (Romans xvi.) may not imply more than individual activity, but the terms in which he mentions Phœbe, and elsewhere lays down rules for the character of Deaconesses irresistibly compel us to believe that Deaconesses of the Church, and widows enrolled for ministry, were a part of the organisation of the Apostolic Church.[1] There is no ground to doubt that when the "whole Church" was assembled to vote on a disputed point, or to sanction any mission, women, as

[1] Sisters of Charity are like Deaconesses in this that both rest on religious grounds. The difference is this: the Deaconess has no vow; the Sister of Charity has no church office (Schäfer, i. 237).

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well as men, were constituent members of the Assembly. So it was in the Anglo-Saxon Church, when Abbesses were members of the Witenagemots and powerful in council. Five of them, for example, were present along with abbots, priests, and lords at the council of Beccancelde (A.D. 694), called by the King of Kent.[1] Women were never elders or bishops in the Catholic Church, but that women were for many centuries in the Diaconate—the order and ministry of service for which they are specially qualified—that they were in it on as uniform a system as men were under their order in their respective grades, there is every reason to believe. That widows also were enrolled on a uniform system, or at least that the Church aimed at a uniform system, is also quite clear. It does not follow from this that the Church in any subsequent age is bound to go by that example, as though it were a regulation. The Church is free from the bondage of any letter in regard to her officials. The spirit of Christ which is in her is free to choose a mode of working adapted to the special needs of changing times.

But it is obvious that the present want of system in employing the services of women has many drawbacks. From want of recognition by the Corporate Church many individual workers lack somewhat of position even when fully employed; and they are frequently not

[1] Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, v. 147. It is worthy of note that women had always held an important place among the Britons, and this was continued. Free women, married, and possessing five acres of land, voted in the public assemblies of Britain (Montalembert, *op. cit.* p. 221).

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employed because it is not sufficiently known that they ought to be. Again, the standard of qualification is in many cases far lower than it would be if the mind of the Church were directed to fix it. Individual workers do not know how high might be their ideal, and pastors are not sufficiently solicitous about giving their work free scope. There will always be abundant variety in the estimate of a standard, but on the whole the average is higher with a standard than without one. It was in this way that the successful "Rules" of St. Benedict and others swept from the field the less regulated practices and customs of which they were developments.

There are several lessons taught by Church History as to the extent to which Regulation and System ought to go. St. Paul distinctly contemplates in "widows" (1 Tim. v. 11) a class of women with no domestic ties, who were able to devote themselves to a holy life of service in the Church. He regards their enrolment as a pledge that they would count this their calling for life; and he warns Timothy against enrolling them so young that they would be likely to fall from that prior pledge by marrying again. But, on the other hand, it is clear that there was no such requirement as sixty years of age in Phœbe the Deaconess, whose long and perilous journey was not one that an aged woman could undertake. For the special class of "widows"—far more numerous in those turbulent days than in our peaceful times—there were special arrangements: but in the case of Deaconesses there must have been quite

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different qualifications. Now we have found that the Western Church erred by keeping the name of widows when Deaconesses were really meant: and that the Eastern Church erred by giving too much prominence to individual Deaconesses. Both churches—straining St. Paul's reference to the earlier pledge[1]—gave undue honour to the unmarried, even to the extent of elevating Church virgins to a pinnacle of prominence for which there was less than no warrant in the New Testament.

We have seen that when women were subject to one another abuses crept in, and fair opportunities were lost. It seems that women administered baptism, and ordained one another, as an *imperium in imperio*. If women are to be a part of the Corporate Church they must be subject to it; and owe to it their standing and power. Timothy was representative of Church authority when he was directed by St. Paul to give honour to widows and elders. The only purpose for which we now cite this is to establish the principle that the Church—not the order of widowhood—is the fountain of honour. The orthodox Church in later days forbade women to be bishops or priests, and so prevented confusion.

But there follows from this also that women who are officials of the Church have a right to ordination from the Church. It is in vain that some writers try to make out that ordination of women did not mean ordination but only Benediction. As a matter of fact, early writers speak of it as the same with the ordina-

[1] πρώτη πίστις.

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tion received by men. The Apostolical Constitutions are clear and emphatic on this point. Those who try to make out a distinction have no higher authority than the hasty and inaccurate Epiphanius. Ordination means appointment to a function. Men like Barnabas and Saul, already honoured as Apostles, were set apart —ordained—by the prophets and teachers of the Church in Antioch to a special embassy of inspection. The solemn commending to God, involving His blessing, is the ordination coveted by dutiful servants of the Church. They are ambassadors, and they accept the delegated authority. They can have no higher authority than is possessed by those by whom they are accredited. In Apostolic times there was special revelation, and there were also visible gifts of the Holy Ghost. But for all times there is promised the abiding and enabling presence of the Redeemer, and where there is needed a special function there will also be a special grace. It is difficult to see why men are so afraid of the word "ordination," because the point of difficulty lies not in the word but in the function for which one is set apart. Has the Church a warrant to discharge this function? If it has, then has it also warrant to set some one apart to discharge it, as the delegate of the whole Body of Christ? If there be, in our time, a need of this ministration of women, then Christ's Church has ample warrant for ordaining women to discharge it. It may be for a limited term of years: it may be for one year, it may be for life. The Church is free to fix any conditions, though not "unreasonably free," for

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true freedom cannot be unreasonable. It is for a wise expediency to decide how many such offices shall be instituted, and with what ceremonial or solemnity the officers shall be appointed. Men discuss "governments" as though there were no other function. There are also "helps" divinely appointed.[1]

But there remains as a lesson of experience that there is great danger of such ordination conflicting with high natural duties. St. Paul makes it clear that no one on whom there were home claims had a right to hold a Church widow's place. "Let them first learn to show piety at home." The widow that marries again has denied her pledge, but "he that provideth not for his own is worse than an infidel." And many of the women named with praise in Holy Writ did the work of Christ in the Church and their own home-work at the same time. The tendency of the Church was to magnify the merit of those who had forsaken all

[1] With reluctance, but as a duty, I have to point out that in the Protestant Church there is a real danger that the Scriptural Order of Deaconesses may be overlaid or strangled by sisterhoods. The decree of the Church of England (see p. 156) recognises sisterhoods even before Deaconesses, and it is extremely likely that the comparative freedom of action in setting up a sisterhood will lead to the multiplication of such institutions, while Deaconesses, ordained one by one, with special solemnity, remain comparatively few. In the Church of Scotland there has been begun, of later date than Deaconesses, the appointment of "Parish sisters" to salaried office, without ordination or any action of a court of the Church, and, so far as I have ever heard, without the requirement of previous training by the Church. It is easy to see how they may be indefinitely multiplied, without the intervention of any court of the Church. The old problems of which we read in Church History are not unlikely to be revived in both Churches.

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other relations and duties in order to become the servants of the Church, and eventually to confine the name of "religious" people to those who were under a monastic vow. But such is not the teaching of Scripture. The popularity of St. Francis' Tertiarians, and of Beguines, and Umiliati, and the rest, was the revolt of the Social Conscience from this unnatural state of things. The Reformation was a recoil from the monastery, as well as—even more than—a rebellion against the Papacy. And therefore, while we should not advocate the prohibition of life-vows and training institutions, we should certainly maintain that there ought to be no special or exceptional stress laid upon them, and that along with them, or apart from them, there should be enlistment, without fixing a term of years, and along with such enlistment, a free acceptance of capacity proved in work done for Christ by those who all the while continue in their own home. Christ came to sanctify and glorify natural ties. His mother and His brothers were His care as long as they severally needed it. He left them when that need ceased, and He was thereafter free to be always about His Heavenly Father's business. And His servants must be such as He. To one He said: Forsake all: Follow me. To another, Go home to thy friends and tell them the gospel. And in our days some may give up only their trade, some not even that: some may give up their houses, some may retain them: the Church is free to accept the service of them all.

The closing word might well be this: there has been

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a tendency, in the case of women, as in that of men, to subordinate the functions of usefulness to love of honour and power. We read of disputes about seats in Church, of a special benediction, of women having to be formally debarred from priestly functions. We have seen that women-workers who were under the rulers grew more numerous by being favoured, so that nuns swallowed up all the orders,—Deaconesses, widows, virgins—the last with least change. At the Reformation the Reformers, in fear of this, abolished all "Orders." If they are now resuscitated, the lessons of the past ought to be kept in mind. The female Diaconate was not only not a Roman Order, it was a Scriptural Order never popular in the Church of Rome. It cannot lend itself to ecclesiastical assumption, as the Church-invented Orders did. Its essential characteristic, if preserved, will be its safeguard; it is not a dignified post of retirement, but a function of active usefulness.

ORDINATION, APPOINTMENT, AMONG THE CLERGY

THERE are some words, such as the above, in frequent use, to which one is at first sight tempted to affix definite meanings, based for the most part on their derivation. In Athens election was made by citizens voting, through stretching out their hands, or through use of the lot. Hence to stretch out the hand meant to vote—to appoint (χειροτονέω). There is another word meaning to "lay the hands on" (χειροτίθημι), and it is a natural word for the ceremonial of ordination. Hence it meant to ordain. Thus χειροτονία naturally meant election, and χειροθεσία meant ordination.

But it is impossible to maintain the distinction. Just as in English we may say *appoint* without dwelling on the mode of

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appointing, so it was in Greek. The word *appoint* can be shown in many cases to mean *ordain*. Thus in the *Apostolical Canons* (i. 2) a bishop is to be ordained by two or three bishops; a presbyter may be ordained by one bishop; a bishop is not to be ordained under thirty years of age. In all these cases the word for ordain is literally appoint. So throughout that document. In the Council of Antioch (A.D. 341) a bishop is forbidden to go into the territory of another bishop for the ordination (literally for the *election*) of any one, and if he dares to do it his ordination (literally his imposition of hands) is void (Council of Antioch, c. xxii.). In the same Council (c. xix.) the word for election is the same as settlement (*κατάστασις*). In the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) it is said that a Deaconess is not to be ordained (literally elected) under forty years of age, and if she marries after being ordained (*lit.* after receiving the imposition of hands), and being for some time occupied in her service, she is to be anathematised along with her partner (c. xv.).

Thus the words elect and ordain are clearly often synonymous in ordinary use.

Were Deaconesses "among the clergy"? There can be no doubt of that, but the doubt is what it meant. To be "among the clergy," to be "on the church list," to be in the "ecclesiastical catalogue," what did those phrases mean? "So also regarding Deaconesses, and generally regarding those enumerated in the Canon"—thus says the Council of Nicæa in A.D. 325, where it is clear that Deaconesses are so enumerated (c. xix.) (See before on the reference to Paulianists in this same Nicene chapter, p. 138, note). Among Paulianists it appears that Deaconesses were not ordained with imposition of hands, and therefore those Deaconesses were to be specially treated. As, however, the Council of Chalcedon says that Deaconesses were appointed with imposition of hands, and the *Apostolical Constitutions* furnish a form for their solemn ordination, we may conclude that to be "among the clergy," or to be on the "ecclesiastical roll," meant in their case to be ordained in the strict sense of the term.

But something more has to be said on the meaning of some of those synonymous phrases which speak of a canon or register of clerical names. There seems to have been in every organised church or congregation a list of officials. It is according to human nature that all churches were not equally particular in making up their lists, and that all lists were not equally well kept. To be "on the list" in one place was not proof of

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being of the same grade as those on the list in another place. For what was "the list"? And who were "clerics"? A usual, though late, list of "clerics" other than Bishops is Presbyters, Deacons, Sub-deacons, Readers, and Singers. The *Apostolical Constitutions* include Sub-deacons, Readers, Singers, and Doorkeepers. The *Apostolical Canons* say Sub-deacons, Readers, Singers. Some add even the Parabolani or Church attendants. Theodosius Junior did so. But all these names include only official men; and yet we have seen that Deaconesses were "on the list" and among the clergy. Nor only they, for Sozomen, v. 5, says Julian's heavy hand fell in exactions on virgins and widows, who, "on account of their poverty, were reckoned among the clergy" (ἐν τοῖς κλήροις τεταγμένας). The other historian of the times, Socrates, i. 17, tells of Helena inviting, to receive her hospitality, the virgins ἀναγεγραμμένας ἐν τῷ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν κανόνι, *i.e.* "enrolled in the register of the Churches." It is thus clear that ecclesiastical women of various names were sometimes in the Canon, and that this fact tells us little or nothing of their functions and the process which preceded their enrolment. The word *canon* (κανών) means the clerical body, *Nic.* 16, 17, 19, and Chalc. 2. But there is no authoritative interpretation of the term. Nor is there of κλῆρος, or of the plural κλῆροι. In Eusebius, iii. 23 (quotation from Clement), it means the body of Christian ministers, and the passage says St. John took a journey in some places to settle (καταστήσων) bishops, in some places to organise (ἁρμόσων) whole churches, and in some to "clerify" among the clergy some one of those designated by the Spirit."

It is thus quite clear that none of the words or phrases in such familiar use has such a definite meaning that we can hold by that meaning as helping us to solve difficult questions of order.

The words are :—

χειροτονία.
χειροθεσία.
καθίστημι (to settle, Euseb., *H. E.*, vii. 9 (κατάστασις).
προχειρίζομαι (*Ap. Const.* iii. 15, twice, *Ap. Can.* 81).
ὁ κανών (*Ap. Const.* viii. 20).
ὁ κατάλογος ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἱερατικός (*Ap. Const.* iii. 15).
κλῆρος.

It ought to be added, though not necessary for our present purpose, that both the words at the beginning of our list may

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possibly, in some cases, mean benediction and no more, but the passages are obscure. Later R.C. writers endeavour to maintain a distinction, but they cannot explain away the earlier synonymous usage. Information may be found in Suicer's *Thesaurus*, Bright's *Notes on the Canons of the First Four General Councils* (especially p. 10, f.), and, above all, in the Canons and Councils of Nicæa, Laodicea, and Chalcedon. See *Die Kanones der wichtigsten altkirchlichen Concilien*, von Dr. Friedrich Lauchert, 1896. In Smith's *Dict. of Christian Antiquities*, article "Ordination," Dr. Hatch learnedly collects many facts, but is all but silent on the ordination of women.

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CHAPTER IX

THE CHURCH AND THE YOUNG

THE Christian Church entered, in respect to the training of the young, as in much else, upon an inheritance from ancient Israel. The Divine law of parental responsibility for the religious training of children runs through the whole of the Old Testament. In the history we read that God, in the beginning, said that Abraham would "command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment" (Genesis xviii. 19). There are frequent injunctions in the legislative part of the Pentateuch to the same effect. The pious Israelites are commanded in Deuteronomy, especially in the great song of Moses, to teach the truths of their history and of revelation unto the "generation to come of your children that shall rise up after you" (Deut. xxix. 22). And so in later psalm and prophecy the God of all the families of the earth desires and expects to be kept in mind in the families of His chosen Israel. In all ancient nations the father's power over his children was nearly absolute, but under the Divine

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law the father was commanded to train his son, and his daughter, and the servants of his household in the knowledge of the truth of God.

The Christian Church finds few special injunctions on the subject in the New Testament, because the writers assume that the Old Testament is in the hands of the people. In the Old Testament, morality is the condition of religion. We have, therefore, in the first days of the Christian Church to contemplate the state of society in which all Christian fathers, like the Philippian jailor, sought to take their children with them into the kingdom of heaven. Timothy was only one of many who learned at their mothers' knees the truth of the Scriptures of God. Such injunctions as we find are in the direction of reminding parents that their power over their children was limited by the law of God. "Fathers, provoke not your children to anger, lest they be discouraged," is the Apostle's considerate precept when he is writing to the Christians of Colosse (Col. iii. 21). Parents are not to do what they will with their children, but are bound to nurture them in "the chastening and admonition of the Lord" (Eph. vi. 4). The same considerate religious duty is directly taught as regards slaves in many passages, for the Christian Church continues the precepts of the teaching of the Fourth Commandment, that the religious man's piety must pervade, and bless, and guide all his household. "Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal; knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven" (Col. iv. 1).

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We may contrast with the Christian home, in which the father and mother brought up their children in the knowledge of Old Testament Scripture and of the gospel of Christ, and perhaps of the catechisms used by the Jews for proselytes, such heathen homes as were occupied by the ordinary subjects of the empire. If we enter a Roman home we find the father enthroned amid the household gods, like Jupiter on Olympus, with absolute power of life and death and slavery, so that he could do almost what he would with his children. If, however, he wished to train them in such religion as a Roman knew, there was no small difficulty. A learned historian[1] says that the whole Pagan theology may be divided into three parts, viz. the Fabulous, of which the tragedies of the poets contain the exposition; the Natural (physical), invented by philosophers to explain or explain away the fabulous; and the Political, *i.e.* the Ritualistic teachings which, given under the laws, are religiously preserved in every city and in every state. Of this last it is said that, while the rites are prescribed in city and country, in obedience to the national voice, it ought to have no respect either from poets or philosophers (Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* iv. 1). There was no sacred Book to which the Roman could refer his child for such theology as might be a basis for practical religion. Neither the Roman nor the Greek had anything corresponding to what we mean, and what Israel meant, by a sacred religious book which was a standard of conduct.

[1] Eusebius.

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The Chinese have such books; ancient Egypt probably had them; the Persians certainly had; but the ancient heathenism of Europe was a religion without a book. It needs a violent effort for a native of Christendom to transport himself into a society thus blank in respect to sacred literature, for what would the Roman parent teach a child? There was less than no ethical teaching of virtue and morals in the legends of Olympus.[1] There was nothing which the unsophisticated young nature could appreciate in the philosophical explanations of those ancient fables, and if the Roman taught any lessons to his child, those lessons must have been in the main independent of the legendary lore of poets and historians. There remained, indeed, the third section—the ritual, or official observances. This was under the control of government, and was made a matter of compulsion. The Roman citizen was bound to do some honour to the festival observances of the heathen temples. And perhaps, amid the multitude of deities that crowded the Pantheon, it was possible for a virtuous man to enjoin upon his child the selection of some potentate who would befriend the right and oppose the wrong. Perhaps it might be suggested that he should pay his devotions at the shrine of some abstract virtue, for abstract virtues had their shrines and altars in those days. While, however, this was possible, it is easy to see how hard was the task

[1] "Abstain from all heathen books" (*Apost. Constit.* i. 6). The *Clem. Hom.* v. 16, "sets forth the amours of all the more noted gods" to show that the gods, if they help men, will help them to do evil like as they themselves do.

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laid upon the anxious parent who sought to train his boy or his girl in the paths of sobriety and virtue. The laws of society, pride of country, affection for those whose name he bore, some promptings of the good spirit within him, perhaps some such book as Cicero on Common Duties or on the Gods, might combine to make the Roman boy a virtuous youth. Perhaps there would be also in some homes such associations with certain household gods as to favour a virtuous life, but anything like the power of family religion as known in Israel and in Christian households was entirely impossible. Any sense of brotherhood with other men, except such as comes from a common country or a common kindred, could not dawn upon the mind of a boy whose household gods were only the gods of the household, and not only did not rule the universe, but probably ruled no other household upon the earth.[1] It needs no words to prove that the Christian Church effected a very grave revolution in the social system of the empire by the establishment of family religion. The mere fact that every family was bowing the knee to Him of whom all families are named, in the faith of the one Saviour who brought the eternal hope to all, and whose own life was a model of pious boyhood as well as of beneficent manhood, must have raised the Christians infinitely above the low standing of the heathen homes around them.[2] The grandeur of the

[1] Some of the *Penates* may have been gods of general repute, but not always so; and the *Lares* were the family ancestors.

[2] "Instead of an indivisible and regular system, which occupies the whole extent of the believing mind, the mythology

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hope for each member, for all other families, and for the whole world, naturally drew the enthusiasm and chivalrous devotion of the young. When days of martyrdom came, and fathers, sometimes mothers too, suffered for the faith, a tender pathos was added to those wide Christian hopes. We do not wonder as we read that the great critic of after days, Origen of Alexandria, when he heard of his father's martyrdom, resolved to rush out and carry on the household testimony to Christ with the sacrifice of his life, and was only prevented by the mother's homely wisdom (putting his clothes out of his reach) from the rash act which would have robbed the Church of so much later usefulness. We have many instances in history, as well as precepts in the early Fathers, showing how potent was family religion. The story of Gregory of Nyssa[1] tells how his sister was taught the easy portions of Scripture most suitable to her age, and how she in turn taught them to her younger brother Peter, afterwards a bishop.[2] No

of the Greeks was composed of a thousand loose and flexible parts, and the servant of the gods was at liberty to define the degree and measure of his religious faith" (Gibbon, c. xxiii.). This verdict is confirmed by such an elaborate survey of "Religion in Greek literature" as Professor Lewis Campbell has recorded. How little it all came to may be seen, as regards Rome, in Professor Sellar's splendid essays. See *Roman Poets of the Augustan Age* when the generous critic is summing up the results of his study of pure-minded Virgil.

[1] Or Nyesa.

[2] The influence of family life is seen in the career of many of the greatest of the Christian fathers. The devotion of Monica, the mother of Augustine, is well known; her son has made her name immortal. Gregory of Nyssa and his brother Basil owed a similar debt, which they proudly acknowledged, to their grandmother Macrina, their mother Emmelia, and their splendid

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wonder that Gregory afterwards set up schools all over Armenia to teach the children of his diocese to read the Bible.

In all this the Christian Church acted according to the eternal law of Nature, which is the law of God, consecrating the father's and the mother's influence to lead the children up to the highest truth and the purest virtue. The children were no longer passive receivers at their parents' hands of what those parents might be able to convey; but the parents studied the Scriptures with them and thought out the system of Christian duty, so as to be able to bring up their children in the faith and love of Jesus Christ as St. Paul had commanded. Very often it was through the lips of children that the particular praise of the Saviour was sung. When St. Jerome was asked by Laeta how to act in regard to her father Albinus, who was a Pagan and a Pontiff, he said, "Let your little child, whenever she sees her grandfather, throw herself on his breast, hang on his neck, and sing him a 'Hallelujah' in spite of himself." The old man, it is needless to say, was won by the simple teachings of the child.

We have thus endeavoured to do justice to the position of the Christian Church, which relied, in the

sister, the second Macrina. Gregory Nazianzen owed much to his father's Christian home; his affectionate tributes to his father and mother and sister and brother one by one are among the treasures of Christian eloquence. Pope Gregory I., the Great, had his saintly mother Sylvia and two sisters to form his character. Chrysostom's mother, Anthusa, trained her son with such devotedness that Libanius, the great professor, a heathen, said, "Good heavens, what women these Christians have!"

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main, upon family influence for the training of the young. But it must not be forgotten that there was an express injunction of the Redeemer that His Apostle was to feed His lambs as well as tend His sheep; and when we ask ourselves how far the Church in her services, especially in her sermons, endeavoured to obey this Divine command, we have sorrowfully to reply that the early ages seem to have been almost as remiss as the Church of the present time. The best defence of the Church, doubtless, is that she sought to train the parents to do their duty by their children, and that in baptism—for infant baptism from the third century at least has been the rule of the Church—she entered into covenant with the parent, authorising him, so to speak, with her sanction as well as by the law of nature, to be the teacher of his child. But, on the other hand, it ought to be remembered now, better than it seems to have been remembered then, that there is a reciprocal obligation on the Church not to hand over to the parent all this duty which Christ laid upon her. It is almost impossible to trace any line of Church influence upon children except in connection with the sacraments of the Christian faith. Baptism being mainly administered to adults in the early days, what training was preparatory for baptism was usually a training not of children but of mature men and women. Such training there undoubtedly was from the very beginning. As we have seen, the Jews had a catechism for proselytes. Christianity adopted the method. There was no one Order set apart for teaching with a view to baptism, but

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sometimes one, and sometimes another, of the officials of the congregation was teacher. Justin Martyr, about A.D. 150, distinctly says that those admitted to the Church by baptism had been previously prepared privately, and that they at their baptism professed to believe and promised to live accordingly. The Clementines say that candidates for baptism were prepared for several days; in one place it is said for three months. In the subsequent times, as we have seen, elaborate arrangements were made in the Church service, whereby catechumens, that is, those under training for baptism, were set in a separate place of the building, and had a certain portion of the service specially adapted to them. When Christianity had spread sufficiently to become the religion of many households, the younger members of each family would naturally take their place among the catechumens. Though they had been previously baptized, they were now candidates for full membership of the Church. Keeping in mind, then, that this is not a provision for children, but for converts and for the young, let us ask how the young were trained in this, their catechumenate? The prayers in the Church were after the sermon; the catechumens were allowed to hear the word read and preached, and to take part in certain of the prayers. The prayers, however, were in two divisions. At the first, catechumens, penitents, and unbaptized persons might be present. Subsequent prayers and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper were for the "faithful" or communicants only. Even the prayers to which catechumens were admitted were not open to all,

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for the lowest grade of candidates for baptism or membership was called *hearers*, and, before any prayers were used or the Creed was said, a Deacon called out, "Let none of the hearers, let none of the unbelievers remain." A higher step was that of *competentes* (candidates), who had given in their names as formal applicants. The prayers for catechumens were specially appropriate. They also asked God for themselves that they might have grace to spend their lives in quietness and without sin, and to attain to the Christian end of life. The whole people were enjoined to pray for them, that they might have a new heart and a right spirit, and be fitted to partake of the holy mysteries through Christ, our hope, who died for them. And then the Deacon said to them, "Catechumens, depart in peace."[1]

This applies only to the public service. We have to take into connection with it that before men were counted fit to be hearers they were instructed, and that they were not admitted even to that grade in the congregation till they had promised to live a good life. Catechumens were subjected to private ethical instruction before being allowed to participate either in the Homiletic or the Eucharistic portion of the public worship; and before they received any right of entry to the congregation they were formally introduced. The imposition of hands was the solemn form of so

[1] See Bingham's *Antiquities*, book xiv. chap. v., sect. 1-3. Bingham's subdivision of the catechumens is not accepted by all, but the above is generally believed.

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introducing them.[1] It is quite probable that this preliminary private instruction was communicated to them in necessary cases by the Deacons of the Church. If not at first, yet certainly before long, Deacons were expected to prepare males, and Deaconesses to prepare females,[2] to make proper answers before they were admitted to the Church. When hands were laid upon the catechumens they were said to be made Christians.

The regulation by which catechumens were confined to certain portions of the service, and in the church itself were separated from others, was applied to all without distinction of rank. Constantine himself was in no higher grade till shortly before his death. I suppose he never heard the Lord's Prayer in a church until the end of his life. Eusebius says of Constantine's prayers in the Church of Heliopolis, a little before his death, that it was "the same church in which he had been admitted to imposition of hands and prayer." The imposition of hands was all the public mark of acceptance which the great Emperor received from the Church. The fact that he was so long, technically speaking, "under instruction" shows that even at that early time their idea of sins after baptism being specially heinous led men to postpone their baptism, as in certain places still, and so prolonged the time in which they were regarded as in pupilage. If we had any assurance that during that time the Church was actively engaged in instructing them, we might suppose that she was indeed fulfilling

[1] See Tertullian, *De Corona Militis*, chap. iii.

[2] See *Didaskalia* for this in the third century. *Ante*, p. 138.

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Christ's orders and feeding His lambs. But, in practical fact it appears that a large class of catechumens were distinguished from the faithful, not by being under special instruction, but by being absent from the more solemn part of the public service.

There were monastery schools and Episcopal schools from an early period, but I do not find that they had vogue until long after the second century, a date to which some refer them. The Alexandrian school was different. Augustine and Jerome had schools attached to monasteries. Indeed the irruption of the Vandals and commotions within the empire led to the abolition, or discontinuance, of the imperial schools, to which we shall advert immediately, and from that time all depended on the Church. Municipal schools were supplanted by monastic and Episcopal schools in the fifth and sixth centuries. In many countries the ruin of the cities put an end to municipal efforts for education. This may be said to begin with the fourth century.

Is this, then, all which the Church did to show her care for the young? That cannot be said. We read scattered notices showing that the young were taught to read and repeat the Scriptures; we know that it is the glory of the Christian Church that the ministers of religion are the instructors of youth, in this resembling Israel, where the priest's lips kept knowledge, and in this too contrasted with the heathen, whose priests had no function of instruction. We know also that from a very early time special means were used to educate all those who proposed to hold any office in the Church.

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The singers in the choir, as well as the readers of Scripture, were examined as to their previous education before being admitted. Parents dedicated those children from their infancy who were expected to discharge solemn functions, and many, probably from being precocious or thoroughly trained at first, seem to have been admitted as readers or choir singers at a very early age. There is one case of a subsequent bishop being admitted as a reader at the age of seven. The Vandals are said to have killed many "infant readers" in Africa, and this strange phrase may possibly show us that there was a certain number of the children of the Church taught as early to read as amongst ourselves in these later times. Charity schools were also set up in connection with monasteries after the sixth Council of Constantinople. (See Mullinger, *Schools of Charles the Great*, chap. i.)

And doubtless they extended the blessings of education to a very considerable extent; but when we read that all boys before being baptized must learn the Creed, we are not to suppose that they learned it by reading in every case. Many monks learned the psalter by the ear, and could not read it. This would still more naturally be found in the case of children.

Leaving the vague and unsatisfactory provisions of the Church for training the young in her ordinary Sunday services, we may glance at the service of the Church to the young in schools for more general and higher education. This will enable us to answer the question, How far the Church, as the great educator, did really educate the parents in Christendom? At the

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Christian era, schools for ordinary education were not unknown in the Roman empire. It is said that in the time of Julius Cæsar there were not less than twenty public schools, mainly for the study of rhetoric, and as these taught men to debate all subjects, arguing on each side with equal readiness and dangerous facility, the Roman censors forbade them, "seeing it is necessary to make known to those who keep and who frequent those schools that they are displeasing to us." But, nevertheless, such schools were multiplied, mostly by way of private adventure. Julius Cæsar did not live to carry out his purpose of endowment, and endowment was the work of Vespasian and of the emperors who succeeded him. Constantine gave great privileges to public teachers, and Julian, with his usual practical wisdom, ordained that postulants for the honour of teaching must submit to previous examination.[1] The first cen-

[1] Julian, however, prohibited (A.D. 363) Christians from being employed as teachers of grammar and rhetoric, his object being to prevent the young of Christian families from acquiring a liberal education. They would not attend Pagan schools, and this edict prevented their finding any others. It is said that his ultimate object was to make Christians inferior in dialectic — the goal of all the highest education in those days. He seems also to have forbidden Christians to be doctors or professors of liberal arts (see Gibbon, c. xxiii. p. 164, Milman's edition); but this requires some qualification, because Gregory Nazianzen's brother, Cesarius — a Christian — was a great physician attached to the court of Julian, with whom he had discussions on Christianity in presence of many. He afterwards became a civil governor. This may have been to escape from the law laying an embargo on Christian physicians. Still it was as a Christian physician he made his fame. The consequence of Julian's sweeping measure was that heathen literature was neglected from that time onward! (For this see Mullinger, *Schools of Charles the Great*, chap. i.)

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turies of Christian history were those in which absolute freedom was given to every qualified man to teach and maintain himself by the fees of his pupils, there being at the same time a public system by which many teachers received endowment from the State. Gratian in A.D. 376 was following up an ancient policy when he required public instructors to be appointed in all the chief cities of Gaul, and fixed their salaries. This wide, general system of education had been inherited by Rome from Greece when the Greeks taught their masters the laws of culture. The university of Athens was still for many Christian centuries the centre of the world's learning.[1]

The original purpose of those great schools was to promote heathen culture, and it is no wonder that Christian parents were perplexed when they had to decide whether to send their sons to them. Tertullian, Basil, Augustine, Jerome—all men who knew the world—regarded study of heathen authors as ancillary to the study of Scripture, and on that account allowed it, but with precautions. Schools naturally took different views of the amount of heathen learning that was allowable. Antioch had a special reputation for classical culture. As the Church grew stronger and the imperial power weaker, classical culture fell more into the background. A modern satirist says in substance what the stricter Christian said in early

[1] The schools of Athens were suppressed by Justinian in A.D. 529. It is said that in the same year Benedict of Nursia composed his *Benedictine Rule* for monasteries. Justinian's *Code* was issued in A.D. 528, and again in A.D. 534.

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times, and he illustrates what must have been their difficulty :—

> What text-books read their children at the schools?
> Derive they Latin from a hymnal source?
> Or from the works of rigid anchorites?
> Not so! That hog of Epicurus stye,
> The sensuous Horace, issues them along
> To rancid Ovid. He prepares the way
> For loose Catullus, whose voluptuous strain
> Is soon dismissed for coarser Juvenal.
>
> W. E. Aytoun, *Firmilian.*

Greek authors might have been found, but Greek was little known in those days. Neither Leo the Great nor Gregory the Great knew the Greek language. It is curious to find a Pope asking for a translation of the Greek decrees of a Council as Leo, "the first great Italian theologian," asked for a translation of the Articles of Chalcedon. Yet in addition to the great fathers named above, Lactantius, Ambrose, both the Hilaries, and many more were trained in Pagan culture at school. Even though it may be truly said that there was "no profane literature from the fourth to the eighth century, it revived under Charlemagne" (Guizot, ii. 99), yet through that period the great heathen authors were known, and the fantastic *Marriage of Philology and Mercury* (science) by Martianus Capella, fifth century, was a favourite text-book.

Because of the difficulty of obtaining an ordinary education without imbibing heathenism along with it, the Christian Church set herself to provide what we

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should now call secondary or higher schools for those who sought to advance in her service. The famous catechetical school of Alexandria dates from the second century, and when it was begun was a direct protest against the ordinary system of Hellenic Roman schools.[1] It was mainly for those who aspired to the holy ministry, but there were always some laymen alongside of the future priests on the forms of the catechetical school. Other similar but not so famous schools were set up in centres of population under ecclesiastical influence. At Beyrout, Antioch, Rome itself, and Constantinople they were found. Scripture was almost the sole study in those Christian schools, though Origen introduced Pagan philosophy. In the school of Edessa we are told that the youths were taught to read notes, to sing psalms, and to commit Scripture to memory. This was nearly what Charlemagne prescribed six hundred years later. It was in this way that Julian was trained before he was admitted to be a "Reader" in Nicomedia. Such schools served a most important purpose for a time, but exaggerated notions of the almost magical result of the ordination of the priesthood came to prevail, and those led to the belief that special education was not greatly needed by the clergy. Even when we

[1] "By the middle of the second century, philosophy was an intellectual game, personal morality a matter of convention and prudence, and rhetoric an artifice" (Laurie on *Mediæval Education and Universities*, p. 13). I have been much indebted throughout this chapter to the works of my friend and colleague, Professor Laurie. He has devoted the labour of a lifetime to tracing the history and developing the principles of education.

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allow everything that can be claimed for such schools as those we have named, it is obvious that the great majority of the clergy could not receive training in them. Those who were thoroughly educated seem to have usually risen in the Church. A young man educated for the priesthood went for general education to Alexandria, or Constantinople, or Cesarea, and then, under the tutelage of some bishop, or perhaps in connection with some society of monks, acquired what might be called the more special qualifications for his offices.[1] More and more those Christian schools became schools of future priests.

The monasteries in like manner devoted their educational powers not to the ordinary community but in the main to candidates for the ministry. Before the sixth century, as was noticed before (page 34, note), monks were not considered the same as the clergy. Thus it was that even when education was given in monasteries it did not reach or directly affect the clergy. It is curious to read that in the fifth century clergy were scarce. In Rome, for example, there were eighty churches and seventy-seven priests. The influence of education in the monastery did not therefore pass in any important measure out upon the people. It was really a forward step in civilisation when the monks, educated men for the most part, became priests and supplied parochial cures. With this identification of monks and priests came the approximation of monks and people, and education became more general and of wider compass in itself.

[1] In Gregory of Nazianzus we see the process and its full result.

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When priests and bishops became monks, they not only made a fresh progress in religious life (Guizot), but they made fresh progress in social life. And the results were good. All over France, and Spain, and North Africa we find through the Middle Ages monastery schools in which the monks were trained both in what we should call polite learning and in the more sacred studies specially needed for their profession.

The Council of Toledo in the eighth century ordained that no one should have any ecclesiastical grade who could not say the whole Psalms and the usual canticles and hymns. In Italy, England, and the East, also in Rome, were many schools; one in the Pope's palace. In all those schools, learning was more and more confined to the clergy, and by some of them cultivated to a very high degree, but by others, on the contrary, almost totally neglected. The political circumstances of Europe were too turbulent to allow of the communication of secular learning to the ordinary community.[1]

Benedict of Nursia, A.D. 480, was the "author of the Mediæval Christian School." He was probably never ordained, and, as Gregory the Great says, was "learnedly ignorant and wisely untaught," but his wisdom (Bene-

[1] "How can I write six-feet hexameters when I am surrounded by seven-feet barbarians?" said Sidonius Apollinaris (born in Lyons A.D. 430) when the Goths were round him. He thought that men in their youth should take their fill of the classics, but as they grew older should turn their minds to things eternal. He was called the last gentleman-bishop of the Roman age.

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dictine Rule) founded a system which spread over Europe. Like himself, his system was distinctly human. He promoted study and made the novices copy MSS. The "second Benedict" (of Aniane), in the eighth century, revised and extended the Nursian Rules, and made monasteries schools of study.[1]

What we call the Dark Ages were therefore indebted —largely indebted—to monasteries and monks for whatever education they possessed. A great advance was due to Charlemagne, who says that he had had letters written to him, even by abbots, which were right

[1] One is tempted to turn aside and try to trace the varied fortunes of classical learning under the monastic rules of education. Cassian, probably a native of Marseilles, a disciple of Chrysostom, came back from Egypt in 404, founded the monastery of St. Victor, and grew increasingly distrustful of classical literature as his years advanced. His severe rules prevailed in monasteries till Benedict humanised them. It is said that he founded monastic discipline, but Martin of Tours the monastery. Cassian lived at Lerins, and the monastery of St. Honorat, south of Cannes, long preserved the best features of Cassian's system. Cassian wished to teach boys to read that they might study the Bible; to write that they might multiply copies of the sacred books; to learn arithmetic that they might be able to calculate the return of Easter and the dates of the festivals. Alcuin, acting for Charlemagne, discouraged the classics and insisted upon "sacred learning." Rabanus Maurus (776-856), who followed Alcuin, had more comprehensive ideas, is called "the first teacher of Germany," and defended classical learning by saying that such men as Lactantius took much gold with them out of the classics, as the Israelites took spoil when they left Egypt. The Scottish (Irish) monks were students of classical literature. Columban, who did not quite acknowledge the Pope, acknowledged the claims of the classics. The monasteries which are monuments of his Apostolic course, Luxeuil, St. Gall, and Bobbio, were homes of literature. In the ninth century Lupus Servatus, a scholar, a soldier, and a friend of the accomplished Charles the Bald, is said to quote or refer to every classical author known in his time.

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in meaning but uncultured in phrase.[1] And he directed the clergy under him to establish and superintend schools for education. In the boys' schools there were to be psalms, notes, singing, counting, and grammar; and the higher education was to advance to the canonical books and Catholic tractates and the sayings of the Holy Fathers. It is not too much to say that Charlemagne and Louis, who followed him, revolutionised the social system of Europe. Schools of all kinds sprang up on all sides—Presbyteral, Episcopal, Monastic, and Palatine—that is, those under the fostering care of a priest, a bishop, a monastery, and a monarch respectively. Charlemagne, who had taught himself or been taught, but with indifferent success, to write[2] after he ascended the throne, and who attended a household school in his palace, fretted that he could do so little to secure the prevalence of education or to get the benefit of the services of highly educated men. Alcuin, his Minister of Education—whom he brought from York—did much to advance his objects, but the practical wisdom of Alcuin allowed greater force to obstacles than the autocratic mind of Charlemagne was willing to allow. Charles, arrogant in virtue of his success in life, thought he could command gifts and graces to come at his call. Once the Emperor cried, "Oh, that I

[1] It appears that at the Reformation many monks only signed their recantation of Popery by deputy in St. Andrews, and a Proclamation regarding the use of the Prayer-book of Edward VI. implies that some clerics could not read (Cunningham's *Church History of Scotland*, i. 506).

[2] "Parum successit labor praeposterus ac sero inchoatus" (*Life of Charles*, quoted by Mullinger).

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had a dozen like Augustine and Jerome"; and Alcuin said, "Sire, the Creator of heaven and earth had only those two; do you expect a dozen?"[1] Alfred, who sought to extend the blessings of education in England, and who is himself the father of English literature, says that he knew no priest south of the Thames who understood the meaning of the Latin prayers which he used; and it is said that not one priest in a dozen (some say in a thousand) in Spain could at that time write a simple letter in the Latin tongue. A Church whose teachers were so ignorant could be doing little in the way of instruction for its members; but, notwithstanding, an atmosphere of Christian truth doubtless pervaded the whole social system. Yet education was not thought to be compatible with the highest manliness. The rude Scotch baron might be said to cry—

> Thanks to St. Bothan, son of mine,
> Save Gawain, ne'er could pen a line,

and this doubtless expressed the ordinary opinion of his order and age—an opinion probably not confined to that age or country. One would like to know what the ordinary child's view of religion was in those times —say in the twelfth to the fifteenth century. The enthusiasm which led to the Crusades must have been

[1] It is interesting to see the English Church, to the founding of which Gregory the Great, in his letters to Augustine and others, gave such unwearied care, sending back Alcuin to guide the great monarch of Central Europe in education. The schools of Gregory became the schools of Charlemagne, with their limitations as well as their high purpose. Gregory was against the classics; Alcuin's educational measures reproduced the early narrowness.

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based upon some knowledge of what the Lord Jesus Christ had done for men, but that such enthusiasm should be expended upon the merely political attempt to eject the Saracens from Jerusalem shows how mechanical and external the view of religion was. The church services were in an unknown tongue. Many of the priests, being themselves unable to read, could not possibly explain the Scriptures to their people; and the soul of the boy whose acquaintance one fain would make must have been filled with legendary versions of Christian history and superstitious explanations of Christian ordinances. The confession of sin to the priest, and the doing of penance for acknowledged wrong, were undoubtedly a great safeguard of morals; but only low, perhaps debased, views of the most sacred things could possibly prevail in the minds of ordinary children. So one naturally feels, and doubtless with truth; yet when we read of Anselm and the monastery of Bec, where the children had their little Parliament and their discussion of sacred things, and remember that those children were in many cases taken from the families around the walls, it is obvious that there must have been a spirit constantly breathed into the minds of young and old which intelligently inquired into the religion of Christ. Monks like those whom Columba sent forth, friars like those whom St. Francis trained, priests like those whom Anselm ruled, could not live a selfish or an unfruitful life. It was not book learning, of which those men had enough, that they conveyed to their neighbours and the con-

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gregations; it was the impress of personal character; and the influence of their own holy aspirations must have preserved a witness for truth even in the rudest times. The very dread which, as we saw in last chapter, a pope's anathema could inspire, the dread of losing the ordinances and comfort of the Christian religion, shows that religion had still a mighty hold upon the minds and consciences of men. Religion, after all, is of the heart more than of the intellect; and when one reads in the annals of the kingdom of Northumbria how princesses and noble men and women counted the cloisters higher station than the hall or the throne, and sweetened the whole atmosphere of the times in which they lived by a holy life, one is less inclined to dwell upon the ignorance of their age than upon its beautiful faith.[1] In answer, therefore, to the question what the Church had done for the young previous to the Protestant Reformation, I think we have to say that she had inspired profound reverence and had suggested simple faith. The times were rude and bad, but no man dared to despise the peaceful pursuits of the ministers of Christ. No man dared, although the peril was mainly a spiritual one. It is not necessary to believe that Ignorance is the Mother of Devotion. To believe it is to oppose the New Testament; but nevertheless we must not forget that if the Church had failed to remove the ignorance of the world, its devotion she had most certainly and effectively cherished.

[1] See Montalembert's *Monks of the West*, vol. v., for many instances.

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CHAPTER X

THE CHURCH AND THE YOUNG AFTER THE REFORMATION

WE now come to the times which followed the Reformation. We do not give a history of education in any part of the United Kingdom. A few general statements must suffice. We shall speak of the general school system in England and Scotland.

The subject of Education in ENGLAND is at present a burning one, and not easy to discuss without trenching on politics, with which we have no concern. England has long been distinguished by great public schools, where, it is said, the exceptional few receive impulses and guidance which make them scholars of high attainment before they go to the University, and where the great mass of the boys and youths acquire perhaps little definite knowledge, but are taught manliness, with its virtues of courtesy and truthfulness. The public or parochial schools of England had not the same position, nor did they fill the same place, as the parish schools of Scotland. There were two societies with widely spread schools: the British and Foreign School Society,

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in which the Bible and Bible morality were taught; and the National Society, connected with the Church of England, and teaching the principles of the Church of England. The enormous growth of population made all the schools entirely and visibly inadequate in numbers; and many voluntary efforts were made to increase their number up to the needed figure, the National Church taking a conspicuous lead, until about a half of the pupils at school in England were in Church schools. In A.D. 1870 a political compromise was effected by which the Church was to retain the management of her schools, to which, however, Government grants were paid according to the number of the pupils. Instead of rates those Church schools were further dependent on voluntary contributions. There is difficulty in maintaining this compromise, as a large party objects on abstract principle to the State supporting Church schools, and a large party objects on the specific ground that the Church of England makes her schools not national but denominational by teaching her formularies in them, and filling them with a "Ritualistic" atmosphere. It does not seem possible to maintain religious education unless by connection with a church, and accordingly many are now proposing to banish all specific religious teaching from the national schools. It is a sad controversy, with issues far deeper than the political controversy estimates.[1]

The Reformation brought into prominence the duty

[1] The latest attempt to settle the educational difficulty in England was an Act of Parliament passed in 1904 giving Church

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of the Church towards the children. Nowhere was the duty more thoroughly understood than in SCOTLAND. The *First Book of Discipline* contains Knox's views of the National Duty. They are the views of a statesman. It proposed (as we saw before, page 111) that the ancient revenues of the Church should be divided into three parts, and devoted to the maintenance of the ministry, the education of youth, and the support of the poor. The allowance to be made to ministers from the third devoted to them was moderate, the provision for the poor was wisely conditioned by the Apostolic requirement that the able-bodied were to work for their bread, while the aged and infirm were to be the charge of the parish of their birth. As to the third for education, a school was to be attached to every church; a grammar school or college was to be erected in every large town; a large endowment was to be given to the three Scottish Universities of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen (Edinburgh had no university at that time). But the barons and lords, and the many pensioners of the old Popish Church, kept hold of the revenues, and the scheme of national education, like the rest of this liberal programme, was never fully carried out. It was not the fault of the Protestant Church that the reality fell far short of the dream. The ideal floated before men's minds for three centuries, and the Parochial Schools of Scotland were an approximation

schools under certain restrictions and safeguards a share of the rates. This has led to a bitter controversy, many Nonconformists refusing to pay such rates, and some large districts refusing to carry out the Act.

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to it, maintained by a tax upon landowners and tenants and the levying of very moderate fees from the children. The whole scheme of education was superintended and developed by the Church. The greater part of the new schools built in lately previous years to meet the wants of new population in mining districts, or in the outlying parts of large parishes, was either provided by the Church or connected with the National Church, though erected by private enterprise. The present system is the result of an Act of Parliament passed in 1872. While in the Act there is no provision for religious teaching, there is in the Preamble due recognition of its importance. Under this Preamble many schools maintain, as "use and wont," religious instruction. There is no provision in the Act for securing the religious profession of the teachers. It is, in short, the severance of the school from the Church—from all Churches. The system was for long made intolerable by what was called "payment by results"—the results ascertained by a hasty visit of a Government inspector separately examining every pupil. It is now somewhat improved, separate examination is discontinued, and the inspector reports on the general character and tone of the school. The result of the Act upon teachers has been much better pay and a greater sense of drudgery. The result upon the pupils has been that if they wish to proceed beyond the elements of education they must go to a "secondary school" in some city or town.

To complete the outline of the history of schools

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in connection with the State in England and Scotland we have anticipated.

To recur to the early work of the Church. There were curious deep-reaching controversies whether a child was saved in baptism by his own faith or by that of his sponsors, or by that of the church into which he was baptized. But it was admitted that Baptism established a relation between the child and the Church, and that, in virtue of that relation, it was the duty of the Church to take measures for the instruction of its young members, "who were received into the bosom of Christ's congregation."[1] "Of necessitie is it that your honours be most careful for the vertuous education and godly upbringing of the youth of this realm;" "of necessitie we judge it that every several church have one schoolmaster appointed."[2] Not that the parents were excused from their own duties. "It is your duty, with all diligence, to provide that your children in time convenient be instructed in all doctrine necessarie for a true Christian."[3] The School and the Home were expected to work together for this end; and the schoolmaster was a subordinate official of the Church.

So long, therefore, as this was realised, the Church might be regarded as in some sense discharging her duty to her children. Whether she had any public and special service for them on Sunday was a matter of detail, although the propriety of such a service seems

[1] *Book of Common Order*, chap. ix. p. 188 (ed. 1836).
[2] *First Book of Discipline*, vii. i. 1, 2.
[3] *Book of Common Order*, chap. ix. p. 188 (ed. 1836).

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obvious. One can further understand that a Church might refuse to organise or to conduct Sunday Schools on the ground that they were a device to relieve parents on the one hand, and schoolmasters on the other, from their responsibility for the godly upbringing of the young. One can see how a General Assembly (A.D. 1799) might object to children being set for training under Sunday teachers whose own qualifications had never been tested by examination, when ample provision for their instruction had been made by the Church through her own qualified schoolmasters; and, further, how it might warn parents against delegating their duties to persons whom the Church had never authorised.

But, nevertheless, Sabbath Schools waxed and grew during the decades of the nineteenth century, and they must be regarded as the modern Church's attempt to discharge her duty to the children. As the State increases its hold on the week-day schools, and diminishes the amount of religious education, there is thrown upon the Church an increasing responsibility. The case for Sunday Schools is not put on the strongest ground when such schools are regarded as substitutes for parental training; their defence is from the side of the Church, not from that of the home. And it is the same with Children's Churches, Children's Guilds, Boys' Brigades, and all other devices for bringing the young up in attachment to the Gospel and the Saviour. It is easy to see, and if need be to show, how they tend to mislead parents who rest upon them, and so regard themselves as relieved from their own obligations to

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train their children. It is easy on the other hand to reply that, as a matter of fact, fathers and mothers are leaving their children to grow up uncared for, and that the Christian homes from which children are beguiled into the excitement of those classes and bands are homes in the air, things of romance, but not found in actual fact; and that, in short, if children did not get good influence in the schools, they would have to grow up without it. This endless debate may be carried on, but the ultimate truth has to be considered and not overlooked, that those institutions are the Church's portion of the needed work, and not a substitute for home training at all.

The Church's portion will vary with circumstances, and it seems clear that in many cases the Church must take a larger view of her duty to the young in populous and careless districts. In those densely-populated regions every Sunday School teacher knows that many of his pupils attend three or four schools, some five,—I have known a case of seven,—with this result that lessons are prepared for none of the teachers, and the moral influence of each school is almost nullified. Many have advocated an arrangement between churches, whereby the Sunday Schools shall meet at the same hour, and the peripatetic pupil find no open door in another when one is closed upon him. But is not the deeper question stirred as to what becomes of the poor child when doors are thus closed? He has gone to all those schools because he liked them better than the alternative of staying at home, or hanging about the grim and

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grimy streets without even an open shop-window to enliven his weariness. It is a shallow sneer that says he goes to the Sunday School for the "treats," twice a year or so, for he finds a treat every week in the welcome and the warmth and the restful shelter. Might not, then, the churches, besides keeping the same hours, try to keep the children occupied in the same place the greater part of the Lord's Day? Not for constant lessons by any means, but for readings to them, for singing, for such entertainment, in the spirit of the Gospel, as would make the Holy Day be expected with eager joy, and be felt as training for this life and the life beyond. It would need relays of good people from the congregation to maintain such an institution, but I believe it not only could be done, but would be easily worked. I have tried it with success in a poor district.

In connection with the Church also there might well be a children's service every week in church, with the minister in the pulpit, and everything adapted to the purpose. It is true that many ministers have not the gift of preaching to children, but all who try have found that young hearts take the will for the deed, and are so pleased when we take pains for them that the pains become a pleasure, and the task to the preacher grows easier with each new attempt. Though some congregations are supposed to grudge that their ministers preach to the children, it is soon found that many of the aged draw comfort from sermons to the young, and that many ministers have learned how to teach simply and clearly from having tried to keep the

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attention of the children. "The exercise of children in every church shall be great instruction to the aged and unlearned."[1]

In all this there might be use made of Christians of all ages, and even of children. If the children of some model home were to be accustomed to do work on Sunday, instead of merely having all done for them, a lesson of the joy of self-sacrifice would be learned of infinite value. Who has not seen with poignant pain that when some good man was driven by what he believed to be his duty to spend his time in good works away from his home, his own children were neglected, and weeds grew in their lives because no flowers were tended! And might not that good man have often had them with him, so that they shared or imitated his delightful labours, and with their books or pictures or magazines were entertaining friendless little waifs while he was speaking to the adult outcasts? For it seems to be a law of life that when a father lets his children share his own enthusiasm, whether its sphere be politics, or work, or religion, they grow up in his likeness and reproduce his character. But it cannot be so if he is harassed when with them, and usually taken away from them, by the claims of some unknown avocation whose echoes and traces they learn to fear with weariness. One other point has to be noted. It is impossible to defend Sunday Schools where is neither training nor testing of the teachers. Mere kindness, a moral life, some knowledge of the Bible are indispens-

[1] *First Book of Discipline*, vii. 3.

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able, but they are not all. "Apt to teach" is a fair translation of the meaning of St. Paul's requirement for "Elders," and it is clearly needed for the teacher of the young. There might be a Guild of Teachers who have been tested, and even trained, and it might be an object of honourable ambition for members of the Church to be enrolled in that Guild. As in the Wesleyan Church the training might be found in trial and experiment. It would naturally follow that the school should be visited and actually examined by the Presbytery or some appointed delegates of that Court in Scotland, by the Bishop or some delegate of his in England. Of England I speak with hesitation, because of very limited knowledge, but in Scotland I am sure that it would be a great blessing to Presbyteries to take such charge of the work for the young done in the several parishes within the bounds. The unity of the corporate Church is weakened and like to perish when an incumbent or minister is left to his own devices for doing or avoiding work, without supervision. Strong testimony to the power of public opinion, to the "increasing purpose" running through the ages, is found in the fact that silently, but very really, the Church of Christ in every branch and denomination is adopting very similar plans for doing its duty to the young. If we are told to leave it all to the Law of Growth, we must reply that the Law of Growth does not supersede Gardening, but calls for it.

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CHAPTER XI

THE CHURCH AS A SOCIETY (A)

THAT the Lord Jesus Christ came to found a Society or Church upon earth through which the blessings of His Gospel should be diffused over the whole world is an admitted proposition. That this Society was to be filled with His Spirit and guided by His laws is equally indisputable. He intended that His Church should be an attraction to all mankind. "I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto Me." "By this shall all men know that ye are My disciples, if ye love one another." To make Christ's Church an attraction was the aim of the Apostles. St. Paul, with frequent exhortations that the strong bear the infirmities of the weak, and that Christians avoid quarrels and litigations, being filled with charity as the highest of all graces; St. John, inculcating mutual love as the commandment given from the beginning; St. Peter by urging on his friends to beware of all illegal deeds; and St. James by his definition of pure religion and undefiled, were all endeavouring to build up the Church as an attraction to the world, as a haven to the tempest-tossed, and a helper to the needy.

If, then, we are asked to define this Society or

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Church, we must say that it is an organised Society under rule and order; its true members are the redeemed who have accepted eternal life in Christ; its outward marks are the two sacraments; its indispensable officials the ministers of the Word; its characteristic such mutual brotherly love in obedience to the precept and divine example of the Saviour as to draw all men in. As the wanderer on barren moor in the dark welcomes the light that streams from some cheerful home, so must they that are without learn to regard the household of God. The spirit within is everything; if any man have not the spirit of Christ he is none of His.

I. *Membership and Discipline*

The Church of Christ, like every other Society, had from the first its formula of admission and the power of exclusion. This is known as the power of discipline, or the power of the keys. But its power of exclusion is of no weight unless its power of attraction be great. To be shut out is no penalty unless one longs to enter. The Church has sometimes reversed this, and upon the terrors of exclusion has tried to found the attractiveness of admission. The closing picture in the Apocalypse might have taught a higher lesson. The presence of the Lamb, and the fellowship of the sainted are within the Golden Gates and beside the River of Life; without are sorcerers and all doers of evil, and the Spirit and the Bride say Come.

Let us look for a little at the conditions of member-

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ship and the sacramental privileges of members. To believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, as God's Son, the Word come in the flesh, crucified, raised, glorified,—that was the condition of membership; and the kingdom was so much an object of desire that the eager nations crowded in, the violent took it by force.

The Church of Christ has always admitted members through Baptism, and has regarded the Lord's Supper as the Household Table at which members of the family assemble.

Regarding BAPTISM. The imagery of St. Paul's Epistles suggests that immersion was the form of Baptism, wherein believers were "buried with Christ." It is usually supposed that this was the ordinary mode down to the third century, and that the only controversy was whether a sick person should be immersed. Yet the *Didaché* (say A.D. 100) directs that warm water might be used in the case of invalids, and if water is scarce—too scanty a supply for immersion—it is to be poured three times upon the head. This is regarded as valid by the author, whose general rule, however, is three immersions in "living (*i.e.* running) water."

The evidence of Archæology is against the ordinary use of immersion in the early ages of Christianity. It seems to show that the primitive form of baptism was water poured on the head of a person standing in water; that not till the ninth century was this changed into immersion, and that chiefly in the Eastern Church; that from the thirteenth century to the sixteenth immersion was the rule even in the Western Church; that from

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the sixteenth century till our time effusion or sprinkling has been the rule in the West, except in the "Baptist" Church.[1]

THE LORD'S SUPPER. At some risk of repetition (see pp. 93 ff., 129), we may here say regarding the Lord's Supper that it was from a very early date in the life of the Church connected with the Agapé or Love Feast. The Agapé in some respects resembled Roman, and in some respects Jewish, social feasts, but it was in its essence different from both. The Roman were convivial feasts with no charitable purpose; the Jewish was an exclusive festival with no room for guests. The Christian Agapé was, as we have seen, at once a means of brotherly communion and a provision for the poor. But the question occurs as to the relation of that friendly and charitable festival to the Sacrament of the Supper. The Sacrament was instituted at the close of a Jewish meal—the Passover—and it appears that for some time the Sacrament was observed at the close of the Agapé.[2] There seems to be ground for believing that the term Lord's Supper (*κυριακὸν δεῖπνον*) was sometimes used[3] so as to include both the Sacrament

[1] See *Baptism and Christian Archæology*, by Clement F. Rogers, Oxford, 1903, and Professor Warfield in *Princeton Review*, July 1904. See argument for immersion as the rule till the fourth century, except for sick people, in article by Dr. Bigg, *Journal of Theological Studies*, July 1904. The argument chiefly rests on rather obscure patristic references which may be explained by copious affusion.

[2] Chrysostom reverses the order, but he is not accepted as accurate. (See Keating as in next note.)

[3] So Dr. Keating, *The Agapé and the Eucharist*, p. 172, a very learned and dispassionate book.

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and the friendly festival, but St. Paul's language in 1 Cor. xi. 20 shows that in the Apostle's mind there was a clear distinction. Thus he goes on (vv. 33, 34) to urge that they should not come as to an ordinary feast at all, because the place for a hearty feast is at home. Those words seem to discountenance the attempt to make provision for the poor and for strangers in a church feast connected at all with the Sacrament. They are deep-searching words, and the experience of the Church in later generations proved how wise they were. Attempts have been made to show that they are not incompatible with a hospitable meal for strangers, but the attempts do not succeed. They are indeed quite compatible with hospitality at home and gifts in kind laid before the President of a meeting in the church for distribution among the poor before sunset. This is quite another matter from eating them in the church, in imitation of the Jews, who took their feast in some building near by the Synagogue.

The Church was long in separating the Holy Sacrament from some other feast of communion (see *Didaché*), and her apologists, notably Tertullian, pointed to her brotherly hospitality as a proof of the high-toned goodness of her members. But after some centuries, during which many abuses crept in, as in Corinth at the first, the Lord's Supper was liberated from the feast. The liberation would have come much sooner had not Christians wished to escape the terrors of the Roman law by keeping a feast resembling what was known and (more or less) permitted in connection with Roman

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non-political clubs. It was something for them to plead that their meetings resembled, though of higher purpose far, such well-known gatherings as those of heathen Rome, which dated from the days of the Republic. But when the Church was set free in the fourth century the Agapé soon disappeared.

Many questions, however, arise regarding the Lord's Supper itself. At an early date there was difference, rather than dispute, as to the sense in which our Lord's words *This is My Body* are to be interpreted. By and by disputes came. The utterance of those words in the celebration intimated a change upon the simple elements (see before, p. 129, Note on the Eucharist); but did that mean simply that the Bread and Wine thereafter represented His Body and Blood, or did they indicate His spiritual presence—unseen—beneath the symbols; or did it mean more, even that in some mysterious way they were no longer Bread and Wine, but became the very Christ; and further still, did it mean that, once consecrated, the elements became the very Body and Blood of Christ, so as to be fitly adored by the faithful? Into these remote and mysterious questions we have no need to penetrate.[1]

[1] Those who wish to see how good and able men discuss them in our day will find much food for reflection in *Different Conceptions of Priesthood and Sacrifice* (a Report of a Conference of Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Independents at Oxford, A.D. 1900, Professor Sanday, Convener) and in *The Doctrine of Holy Communion and its Expression in Ritual*, being Report of a Conference of Members of the Church of England at Fulham, A.D. 1900, Dr. Wace (now Dean of Canterbury) in the chair. The discussions are supremely interesting.

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It is enough for us here to remember that since the foundation of Christ's Church the Sacrament of the Supper has been the visible bond of union between the members of the Church and the once crucified Lord, and also between those members one with another. The Church in every land rejoices to have this Sacrament as a means of testifying before God and angels and men to her love of Christ and faith in Him, and believes that in "doing this," as in obedience to all His commands, there is experienced by the humble heart a real and great blessing. It is easy to raise controversy by any statement, but in all the diversities of faith it is agreed that the Spirit of God makes the Sacrament a means of grace and of growth in godliness. There is no proof that the Christian who presided at the Communion in the early Church was a bishop, still less that he was a priest. All Christians are priests in the usage of the New Testament, and they who preside are "the ministerial organs of the Church's priesthood,"[1] delegates of the great priestly body to which they belong, offering up in the congregation, as all Christians offer in their own life, spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ. It is a weary task to weigh arguments or inquiries as to the Lord's Supper being a sacrifice offered to God by man; sad work to consider what is the relation of the Crucified Body of Jesus Christ to the Glorified Body of the triumphant Redeemer, and which Body is offered in the Mass. It is a simple and blessed thing to sit at the Communion Table and

[1] Canon Moberly.

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"do this in remembrance" of the Lord, and to expect that He will send His Spirit to us, so that we shall be by faith "made partakers of His Body and Blood to our spiritual nourishment and growth in grace." The great meaning of the Sacrament is best seen—as surely we might well expect—in close adherence to the unadorned simplicity of its First Institution. The communion with one another, which was so marked a feature, seems to disappear when the elements are distributed rather than "partaken of." It is most like the First Communion when there is the Common Table, the Common Meal, and the Bread and the Cup passed from one to another by the thankful believers.[1]

The Church penalty was *Expulsion*. In respect of this the Christian Church imitated the Synagogue. In our Lord's own words we find (St. Matthew xviii. 17),[2] that He contemplated the imposition of the penalty of exclusion, and expressly conferred upon His Church the power to bind or loose, of which admission and exclusion are the exercise (see Matt. v. 22; Gal. ii. 12; 1 Thess. ii. 3). Instances of the extreme form of exclusion we find in the well-known case of the incestuous person in the Corinthian Church (1 Cor. v. 4 and 5), and in 1 Timothy, where St. Paul says he has given over Hymenæus and Alex-

[1] This is disappearing from the ritual of many congregations in the Presbyterian Church. Communion in the pews, even pews without a white covering cloth, is not uncommon.

[2] "If he shall neglect to hear thee, tell it unto the church: and if he shall neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican."

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ander to Satan "that they may learn not to blaspheme." A milder form of exclusion by the Christian Society we find in 2 Thess. iii. 14, where the Christians are told to keep no company with the offender until such time as he is ashamed of his misconduct. In thus exercising the power of discipline, the disciples of Christ were using those keys of the Kingdom of Heaven which were given to the Twelve, and to Peter, as their leader and chief. For three hundred years after miracles ceased the Christian Church had no power but that of persuasion, no penalty but that of more or less rigorous exclusion. It never so grew in love, so waxed mighty in Divine power; never could its advocates and apologists so challenge comparison for its members with all men. In course of time the penalties were arranged in a graduated scale, and became more complicated, even more so than the minute Levitical system. An ordinary congregation was a motley gathering when so many penitents were grouped in various places according to their sin and penance. For two centuries penance lasted only for weeks, but its term grew longer, to ten, fifteen years, or for life. Culprits had to observe the penitential stations at church. Mourners stopped outside the door, penitential "hearers" apparently did the same, "kneelers" stood just within the door arrayed in sackcloth, the *standers* were along with the ordinary congregation, but had to leave before the Eucharist. Some were excluded from partaking of the Lord's Supper and from joining in offering the oblations and in the prayers of the faithful, although they were

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allowed to stay in church until the catechumens left. Some were outcasts from all the service, and were even debarred from entering the building when the congregation worshipped. Not only were they ordered to have no intercourse with believers, but believers who had intercourse with them were excommunicated.[1] Those penalties were regarded as terminable, "poenae medicinales"; but there was another which was lifelong as well as (in extreme cases) efficacious for both worlds. The Councils were not always at one in construing the sentence, some shrinking back from what others spoke trippingly on the tongue. In the eighth century it was said in awful words, "We confound them with eternal malediction and condemn with perpetual anathema. . . . May they be numbered with the Devil and his angels."[2] This is

> The awful doom which canons tell
> Shuts Paradise and opens Hell.

Things went from bad to worse until public penance was abolished; gradually and from the fifth century private penance came in and grew apace. The private

[1] See Smith's *Dictionary*, article "Excommunication. Council of Toledo," c. 15 (A.D. 400). Comp. the Acts of Scottish Assembly, 1569: Persons excommunicated were to stand bareheaded at the church door till prayers and singing be ended, and sit at the public place of repentance bareheaded all the time of sermon, and again depart before the Lord's Prayer. (Pardovan, 437). In 1643-1648: If a minister haunt the company of excommunicated persons he shall be suspended for the first fault and deprived for the second, unless he have licence from his Presbytery, or else the excommunicated person be *in extremis* (Pardovan, 434).

[2] Anglican Pontifical of eighth century, Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities* — "Excommunication."

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confessional came with it; the power of the priest and the bishop also waxed mightily, and in the Eastern part of the Church preliminary absolution was given at once, though restoration to communion did not come till the end of the time of penance. This arose from the fact that in addition to exclusion from privileges, or suspension of them, the offender was in some cases called upon to pay continuously certain penalties. Out of this grew the elaborate system of Penance and Indulgences, which became so great an evil as to be the proximate occasion, and very largely the cause, of the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century. The infliction of penalties was accompanied by the growth of a system of Indulgences, applying both to this world and the next. To Tetzel's shameless sale of those Indulgences was largely due Luther's brave rebellion.

In the exercise of this discipline a man was always judged, in the Christian Church, at least by his peers, and usually by his peers and superiors combined. The laity were judged by the clergy, the clergy by the bishop and clergy, the bishop by his metropolitan, the metropolitan by bishops and the patriarch, and an offending patriarch by the Pope and Council. This was the Church system. In the New Testament it would appear that every member of the Church was, in the ordinary case, judged by his fellow-members. Thus St. Paul does not excommunicate the incestuous man. He calls upon the Corinthian Church to exclude him.

In later times the Church was fearless in asserting

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against the highest dignitaries her power of exclusion. That power was owned. The Emperor Philip was excluded from the Church till he did penance. Athanasius excommunicated the Prefect of Libya, and Basil refused the communion to that excommunicated man. Ambrose drove the Emperors Maximus and Theodosius from the doors of his church. Chrysostom shut the Church against Eudoxia, and Synesius against Andronicus, the Prefect.[1] Yet for long it was not admitted, or even claimed, that the spiritual sentence and censure went beyond spiritual things. For six or seven centuries after Constantine no one believed that a whole community could be put under interdict for the fault of any one member, be he Bishop or be he Prince. Augustine said (*Ep.* 75) that a family could not be excommunicated for the fault of its head, and a nation could not for the fault of its sovereign. At God's table the King is no King, but a simple member. Yes, and from that it followed that not the King but the member was put under ban or excommunication. Till Gregory VII.[2] (Hildebrand) extended and deepened the sway of Papal power those things were admitted. (A few doubtful exceptions do not count.) Gregory went further far. In his hands the penalty of excommunication inflicted on a kingdom was terrible. Great Kings, and even Emperors, crouched before the Pope, who wielded this awful weapon of terror. A potentate might for himself have made head against the pontiff, but his soldiers and all his subjects who had intercourse with the excom-

[1] Du Pin, 279.

[2] See Du Pin, 289.

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municated sovereign were themselves excommunicated, and, in terror for their own spiritual privileges, they refused to support their temporal head against the head of the Church. The Pope absolved every soldier and subject from allegiance to the degraded King. And thus the victory was won. That the Emperor Henry should wait those three days at the door of Hildebrand, in thinnest garb, in winter cold, at Canossa, seems the result of the successful tyranny of a stronger power than his own; and it was all that, but it was also an assertion by the Pope of the great truth that the Christian Church is a spiritual society entitled to assert its own conditions of membership against every offender. It was a complicated thing to pronounce clearly upon in that particular case, but throughout the whole career of Hildebrand the Pope was supported by the conscience of Christendom. He was asserting spiritual truth against "wickedness in high places." It was the same backing of public conscience that had enabled Hildebrand to prevail over the clergy of Milan, indurated in long indulgence, but compelled in his iron grasp to abandon and forswear their ways. That human pride largely tinctured the proceedings of Hildebrand it is needless to say, as it were idle to deny; but, notwithstanding, the conflicts in which that great Pope won the victory would have had disastrous issue had he been vanquished. The discipline of the Church was oppressive in his hands, but if it had been overturned by a reckless Emperor, or undermined by unfaithful clergy in Milan or elsewhere, the Church of Christ would have

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been throwing its heaven-given keys into the depths of the sea.[1] The evil lay in this, that to gain a spiritual end Hildebrand used most material means; that to humble pride he himself grew prouder. The day came when he fell by the same weapon he had wielded, but his pride remained. "I have loved justice and hated iniquity (he said), therefore I die in exile."[2]

The power of discipline is essential to a living Church. She must have the right of her freedom to define the conditions of membership, always in accordance with the directions of Holy Writ. In interpreting these directions she may err. As a matter of fact she has often erred, but this discipline is, notwithstanding, her inalienable prerogative, and when days of purer vision come, she always puts her right in exercise. Before the Church was mixed up with the Imperial edicts of more-than-half-heathen Rome, her community was the fairest form that human society had ever taken. Lecky says that the Christian community, for two hundred years after its establishment in Europe, exhibited a moral purity which, if it has ever been seen, has never for any very long period been surpassed.[3]

During that early time the Christian Society used its power of excommunication sparingly, and only upon the gravest occasions. Membership of the Christian Church was highly valued, and excommunication from it shut out a man not only from participation in religious

[1] See Du Pin, p. 279.
[2] May 25, 1085.
[3] Lecky, *Civilisation in Europe*, vol. ii. p. 12. See also Marshall's *Penitential Discipline*, pp. 154 ff. for pains taken by the Church.

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rites, but thereby, in a considerable degree, from the intercourse of Christian society. This was all, but it was enough. When the Church thus rested the power of her censures upon her own spiritual commission, and made her circle a happy, holy brotherhood, the censures were fruitful for good. But when they were held to involve direct civil effects, they became tyrannical. Even those under Hildebrand were not in reality of such doubtful value as Church censures have often been when they involved the serious temporal consequences which are fittingly enough visited upon the criminal by the State. By the establishment of St. Louis, the estate or person of the excommunicated man might be attached by a magistrate. Both Pepin and Charlemagne intimated, though somewhat vaguely, that the State would give effect to Church censures. Hallam says that by the common law of England an excommunicated person is incapable of being a witness or of bringing an action, and that he may be detained in prison until he obtains absolution. By the law of Scotland, at and after the Reformation, men were not allowed the privileges of citizens of this kingdom unless they conformed to the Church and participated in her rites. In Scandinavia even the recently relaxed laws make confirmation in the State Church indispensable for all royal appointments, for governors, judges, and all military officers of high rank. Alliances with the civil power, such as those legal provisions indicate, cannot be productive of good to the Spiritual Society which Christ founded. The consequence of them is that the Church cannot,

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from very compunction, exercise her discipline where it is really needed, and depends in practice upon ordinary public opinion, and not upon her own official acts, for the purity of the life of her members.

II. *Remedial Aspect of Church Discipline*

"That they might be taught not to blaspheme" was the hope and the purpose of St. Paul in his terrible censure; to deliver such a one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus.[1] Sufficient to such a man is this punishment, the warm-hearted Apostle soon said. Ye ought now to "forgive him and comfort him, lest by any means such a one should be swallowed up with his overmuch sorrow."[2] The Synod of Nicæa has many Canons dealing with such as had lapsed or had fallen, and it seeks to show such tenderness as befits the healing mission of Christ's Church. "Those who lapsed," says Canon XI., "during the tyranny of Licinius, are to be treated with tenderness, though undeserving of it." It seems hard enough tenderness,—twelve years of exclusion from the Holy Table,—but it has to be remembered that during all that time they were amongst the ordinary congregation as hearers of the Word. The first step upwards from being mere hearers was that they were permitted to join in the prayers, and then the next was that they were permitted to add their gifts to the oblation laid upon the Holy Table. Doubtless they felt their degradation in not mixing with the accepted

[1] 1 Cor. v. 5. [2] 2 Cor. ii. 7.

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faithful, and in having to go away before the Lord's Supper was celebrated; but still in their long penance they were sustained by hope. If during its term death came upon them, every dying man received absolution and the Holy Sacrament, as the *viaticum* upon his dark journey.

Everything shows how tolerant the Church was at first. The doctrinal and practical errors which the Apostles reproved, but which though reproved did not lead to the expulsion of those who held them, are remarkable. Denial of Christ seems to have been then the only ground of anathema. Even 1 Tim. i. 18, 19, seems to point at Atheism arising from immorality. The grounds and the amount of penance in the following centuries are subjects of dispute. Idolatry (afterwards called Apostasy), Adultery, and Murder are called the great or mortal sins. For them penance was lifelong, but the Sacrament was given at last. "Lapsing" was less than deliberate Apostasy, but caused serious questions. Thus after a persecution, when peace came, many thousands of weak-minded Christians that had crouched before the storm, arose and knocked at the sacred portals, seeking to be readmitted. But when the Bishops abated the requirements of long probation, those thus taken in proved a great weakness to the Church. "The time of toleration which followed on the death of Valerian had a more mournful effect on morals and Christian zeal than the time which preceded the era of Decius."[1] One cannot wonder that Novatian counted apostasy a mortal sin. The con-

[1] Chastel, *Le Christianisme dans les six premiers Siècles*, vol. i. p. 74.

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troversies which arose through this difficulty consequent on persecution, rent the Church to its very foundations. It would have been well if the Church had been as tolerant of those who had once erred through doctrinal heresy, and had come back penitent, as of those who had failed in the time of persecution. When Cyprian's fiery zeal accounted lapse in doctrine a fatal sin, nullifying the value of the sacraments, and required that those who had been brought up in heresy should be rebaptized and put upon a level with those who had been born and bred in heathenism—and thus made a Donatist heretic as much an outcast as any immoral man or obstinate idolater—he was introducing a new element, pregnant of discord, into the heart of the Church.[1] One would have supposed that the mere fact of a heretic coming back to the Church from which he had stood aloof, and seeking to be admitted to Christian privileges under her shelter, would have been accounted penance enough, and have secured for him restoration and a welcome. He had not been an apostate like those who denied Christ in time of persecution. He had not led an immoral life, and to count him an alien because the whole Church to which he belonged had been excommunicated was to disregard the struggles through which such a man must have gone before he could so humble himself as to seek privileges from the Church against which at one time he stood out. If the father in the

[1] Cyprian at one time let his human heart or his wiser statesmanship re-admit to the Church after a few months those who had fallen into idolatry. It is seen in the sequel how his stricter views were overruled. See p. 225.

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parable had put his returning prodigal son under penance or under quarantine, we may be very sure that the youth would not have been so melted as by the fulness of forgiving love.

The Church of Christ in all times has had a twofold function and duty, but has always been prone to look to only one part. She has to maintain the standard of righteousness, but she has also to represent the healing power of Christ, and to set herself to be attractive, as Jesus Christ was to publicans and sinners. Many times she has made her discipline vindictive, believing that righteousness so demanded, and in so doing has forgotten that God, who is just, is also the justifier of him that believes. On the other hand there have been times when the reverse was true. Some churches have still no discipline. It is surely possible to recognise the existence of an ideal in the Redeemer's life, who came to call sinners to repentance, but not to penance, and to join to His injunction of a better life the ready assurance that the sins of the old life were forgiven. When one reads in the old history of the Church of Scotland the violent and persistent infliction of penances, which must have done ten times more to exasperate than to reclaim the offender, one cannot but feel that the Church in those days had forgotten, through excess of mistaken conscientiousness, the great truth, "Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord." To realise her commission as a remedial institution is an infinitely more difficult task than any to which she sets herself. Does the Church realise

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that at present? I scarcely think so. At present she takes the easy rôle of treating what is not "respectable" as the Pharisee treated the publicans and sinners, and thus shuts her doors on the harlot and the drunkard; and the still easier rôle of taking no steps to exercise discipline upon those whose sins are not a public scandal according to secular opinion; so that she has misers, and oppressors, and rudely insubordinate men within the innermost shrine of her sanctuary. Hence the Church ceases to be an attraction. There are violent dispositions and mean vices harboured within her pale which cause many tender and sensitive natures to shrink from her. If the Church, as interpreting God's law, were to show that she frowns on hard masters, on grinding rich men, on misers, on inconsiderate people, on dishonest (though it may be legal) money-making, if she denounced the rich who are not pitiful and the poor who are not courteous, she would soon establish Christ's visible kingdom on the earth.

And what of her care of the fallen? "Ye that are spiritual *restore* such a one," not merely tolerate him, but put him in his old place and surround him with an atmosphere of helpful love. Of what great Church, what members of a great Church, can this be said? More than once or twice I have known penitent offenders who did not seek readmission to the Church connection of their former days because they were afraid of the callous toleration or the cynical banter they had to expect.

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CHAPTER XII

THE CHURCH AS A SOCIETY (B)

III.—*The Unity of Separated Churches*

The Church was a unity of local churches, or all were branches of one; hence baptism, by whomsoever administered, if in the name of the Trinity, was recognised. Even those who had been baptized by heretics were never rebaptized till the intolerant logic of Cyprian carried out what the ardour of Tertullian had exacted of them in the beginning of the third century. Heresy was doubtless at that time taking a new form, more separatist and distinct than the older heresies which had always coveted a place within the Church. At the root of the exclusiveness manifested by Cyprian and others was the principle that heretics were not within the Church of Christ, and that baptism, being a sacrament of the Church, could not be given by them. Augustine, on the other hand, established the higher principle that the baptism which the heretic administered was not an alien baptism. It was not his; it was Christ's baptism. "In leaving the Church," he argued, "the heretics have taken many things away with them, especially faith in Jesus Christ and baptism."

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"These fragments of Church truth," he said, "are the elements, still pure, which enable them by baptism to give birth to the children of God." Thus the actual unity of the Christian Church was, through the practical tolerance of the great Bishop of Hippo, declared to be unbroken even by the heresies of his time. The Roman doctors, following Augustine, and led by Thomas Aquinas, have adopted this position, and in respect of baptism the Church of Rome is more tolerant than other Christian Churches that could be named.[1]

Yet those same Roman authorities do not apply their tolerant rule to the confirmation of a catechumen or the ordination of a cleric. They argue that heretical bishops are not the legitimate successors of the Apostles, and that they therefore cannot confirm or ordain. They require in all cases the imposition of the hands of a true bishop as necessary, "That the Holy Spirit may be received" (Cyprian to Jubaianus, Letter 72).

Within the Orthodox Church in early times the most powerful means of maintaining the unity of the Church was the use of Letters of Commendation. The early Synods are full of directions as to the issuing and recognition of those letters. Whenever a Christian passed from one place to another he was expected to

[1] Baptism even by a heretic or a heathen, if administered in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and with the intention of doing as the Church does, is valid Baptism. It is not necessary to rebaptize a heretic if he seeks to be admitted to the Church, but a penance may be imposed on him. See Hefele on *Councils*, i. 115. Compare the Pope's view of Anglican Orders.

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carry with him one of those commendatory letters bearing his name and stating his qualities, something like those to which St. Paul refers in his indignant remonstrance with the Corinthians, or perhaps like the form which he himself uses in commending Phoebe, the Corinthian Deaconess, to a hospitable reception by the Church in Rome. Not even a Bishop or Presbyter or Deacon was to be received without such letters. The Apostolic Canons, No. 26 (34), say: "Those letters to be scrutinised when presented; if the bearers are heralds of piety, let them be received; if they are not, then, while promptly ministering to their wants, do not receive them into communion, for many things turn out to be even plunder." The noted heretic Marcion did not receive Church hospitality because he had no commendatory letter from his father, the Bishop of Sinope.

Turning from the ancient customs to the circumstances of our own day, there are many lessons which we may learn. In Presbyterian Churches the departing member of the Church usually receives no letter of commendation, but a "letter of disjunction," an ominous term, and a dreadful thing unknown in Christendom till the seventh century. Surely the kindly custom of "Commendation" might well be in more common use than it is.

If in regard to the other matters we ask ourselves how far we are maintaining in our divided Christendom the unity of the Church, the answer has to be a somewhat uncertain one.

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The Presbyterian churches acknowledge each other's ordinations, baptism, and admission to the communion. All Episcopal churches, on the other hand,—Greek, Roman, and Anglican—refuse to recognise non-Episcopal ordination, with this further addition that the Roman Church does not recognise Anglican ordination or Greek, while the Anglican recognises both Roman and Greek. Presbyterian churches recognise the ministerial orders conferred by a Bishop, but not always those conferred by a Congregational church. If, amid this perplexity, we ask ourselves whether any true principle can be reached and maintained, I think we might say that if we recognise the Christian faith and practice of our fellow-Christians according to the Scriptures, we are bound to recognise their orders and sacraments as valid. We cannot go back to past history nor trace the obscure origin of what are called in any church the orders of the ministry, but, dealing with things as they are now, and recognising that the Lord Jesus Christ works His work in every one of the many distinct branches of His Church, we may recall the great truth stated in the beginning of the second century by Ignatius, and say, "Wherever Jesus Christ is, there is the Church catholic."[1] St. Peter's argument in the house of Cornelius was that God had already given His Spirit, and that it was not for him to withhold baptism. I do not think it a misapplication of the principle of that text to say that wherever God has blessed ordinances, it behoves those who follow Him to recognise those ordinances as

[1] *Ignatius to Smyrna*, chap. viii.

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valid. Thus the ministry and the sacraments which any body of my fellow-Christians recognise, if I recognise them as my fellow-Christians, have a right to such recognition as I can give. Christ said that no man could cast out devils in His name and be opposed to the work of His disciples. And yet we forbid them because they follow not with us. O sons of Zebedee, how we imitate your imprecation of Heaven's fire upon such as are notably our comrades! how we avoid your voices of thunder against real iniquity!

IV. *The Authority of the Church over its Ministers*

The ancient Church regarded all her officials as the servants of the Church, and subject to the Church. They all belonged to her; they were her equipment, her ornaments, her attraction. She did not in the early days count a Bishop more than a chief servant. To preach was the object of Christ's mission, to preach He sent His disciples forth, to preach (as we saw before) was the Bishop's chiefest function in the early Church. It was in this way that the chief servant did the highest service of the Church. For a certainty a Bishop was not to be translated from one diocese or district to another. Many rules are given by the ancient Councils denouncing the migratory practices of some Bishops, and declaring that it was incompetent for a Bishop to change his see. The Synod of Nicæa actually declared that the translation of a Bishop was null, yet there were men in it who had been translated.

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The Sardican Council, A.D. 344, applies the same rule to all ministers, and prohibits Bishops from accepting a minister of another diocese. The principle at the basis of this was that no man was absolutely ordained as a member of an order. He was appointed to exercise special functions in a specified place. The Synod of Calcium decrees in regard to those who had been absolutely, that is, generally ordained, that such ordination shall be without effect, and that they shall nowhere be allowed to officiate. Another point we may notice is that the property of the Bishop belonged to the Church. He was not allowed to make any profit of it. The very savings of the clergy, according to Canon Law, belonged to the Church and the poor. There were many special prohibitions of the common practice of making money by lending money out at interest or usury. In all the centuries this especially applied to Bishops and clergy. In the Council of Nicæa every one who takes interest or carries on the business of a usurer is struck out of the list of the clergy. They state that the Bishop has received his property for behoof of the poor and needy, and must therefore not make profit out of their needs.

Again, the time of a Bishop was not his own. He was suspended if he were idle, deposed if he persisted in his inertness.[1]

In all this we see certain principles made clear, that according to the faith and practice of the early Church (1) ministers are servants of Christ, and therefore

[1] Apostolic Canon (58).

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servants of Christ's people, obedient to Christ's Church. The Bishops were not rulers of the heritage; they were its chief ministers. They were not units, but part of a great organism. Their commission was to see what they could do for the Church, not what the Church could do for them. (2) That a man does not choose his own sphere, nor is he allowed to change it at will. We see this same principle in theory in the Presbyterian Church, where a minister already ordained to a charge has to stand aside, as it were, and wait until his Presbytery resolve to translate him to another. In theory, therefore, a Presbyterian minister waits for the orders of his Church Court, but in practice he does something very different. It is not unusual for ministers placed in special charges to enter themselves as candidates for vacant positions, and to imperil their usefulness in their present sphere by becoming preaching competitors for another. If one succeeds there is a hollow ceremony, in which representatives of the place to which he has been elected come and ask his Presbytery to let him go, and he professes to await the decision of the Court. It would be a logical thing in our own time, and fairly representative of the early conscience of the Church, if no minister already in a charge were allowed *to apply* for another except with consent of the Presbytery to whose orders he is subject. In the Anglican Church and in the Popish the principle of Church order is better carried out. There a man does not of his own motion attain to translation. It seems clear that in all the other Churches of our land the respect in which the

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Christian ministry is held would be greatly enhanced if ministers were regarded as the servants of the Church, going wherever the Church should send them, and waiting for orders before going anywhere. Why should not a living Church be able to lay its hand upon any preacher or minister, and send him to the Foreign Mission, or to city work, or to country work, as may seem best for the common good? There is something absolutely contrary to the primary principle of a living organisation in this that no member recognises any power in the body to direct his movements. He seeks to choose and rule his own. We do not really trust our rulers sufficiently to put ourselves in their hands.

V. *The Church Separate from the World*

This is a point of extreme delicacy, and I fear to speak upon it, because I am conscious of its difficulty. It was the original idea of the Church to be opposed to the world. There is the Prince of this World who contends against our King. We see the contest in Daniel, in the Apocalypse, and in the simple story of the Gospels, and, in one word, we learn that this is the "victory that overcometh the world, even our faith." That the Church was separate from the world in days of heathenism it needs no effort to prove, nor practically was it a difficulty. Membership of the Church was denied to men who were professionally heathen, to those who by the very necessity of their daily occupation denied the law of Christ. Gladiators, actors, all

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functionaries of heathen temples, were debarred from the communion table. All this was pretty clear, but there came in at a very early period the doctrine of the sinfulness of matter—a doctrine imported from Gnosticism — and the Church endeavoured to show itself separate from the world by doing battle with the matter of the human body. Asceticism in food, in raiment, in social life, in respect to marriage, came to be regarded as the test of Christian faith. It was said that when there was no precept by Christ to that effect, there were "counsels," and so the counsels, or remote injunctions to certain things by Christ, were regarded as more important than the direct precepts of Christian duty. It was not the man who preached, therefore, who was honoured, but the man who was a celibate monk as well as a preacher (see before, p. 65). But further, every man who voluntarily submitted to privation from luxuries, or who did battle with the comfortable customs of ordinary life, was regarded as carrying out to its high ideal the obligation of the Church to be separated from the world. Thus the monks were thought to be religious clergy, while married men were only secular clergy. Be it remembered that in all this the Church was an attraction. Men and women, wearied with strife, shrinking from sin, galled by the bondage of the world, knocked at the iron gates of the Church to be taken in, for their hearts longed for the better things which those gates and walls sheltered. The Church has never been an attraction when she ceased to be spiritual.

Now in our own day the Church is by no means

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separated from the world; the Church is taking her tone from the world; the Church is not more stringent in her terms of communion than Society. Against this the Plymouth Brethren are entering a protest, declaring that the Church has become so worldly that they have to separate from it because it represents the world to them; and there are many others within the Church who, though they do not separate themselves from her ordinances, nevertheless in daily life live on stricter principles than the Church requires.

That attempt of those Brethren to establish the Church in purity has in it much that attracts the more earnest and enthusiastic believers, and many a young heart has fled from Churches, on which corruptions have grown like moss and ivy, to the simple league and brotherhood of those who profess to reproduce the very first Church which the Redeemer founded by His Spirit. It is not easy to find doctrinal standards by which to ascertain the "Brethren's" creed, but in popular treatises widely circulated among them are many far-reaching statements which, if rightly understood, would alarm believers in Scripture.

At first the system professed to be based upon Scripture, and to wait for the Holy Spirit, but, driven by the logical necessities it has summoned to its aid, it has to deny that the Apostles were inspired and guided to be the founders of the Church. The teachers of this sect say, "*Morally* the Church was a ruin even before the Apostles had quitted the scene."[1] They say that even

[1] Holden, *Six Letters on Church Questions*, p. 16, 1885.

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in the New Testament the Church of Christ was a "failed dispensation"[1] which God will never set up again, and that all a Christian can do is to come out from "man's religious systems," *i.e.* from the visible Church in every form, and to join with those who have "departed from iniquity, purifying their hearts from all known offence against God."[2] This must mean that those men set themselves up as founders of a purer system than that to which Peter belonged and Paul and the rest. It is not even in the New Testament they find their model after all. Their theory does not bear examination while they denounce the imperfections of the Church. *First* of all they can have no security that their company is pure and holy unless they have the discerning of spirits, so as to prevent the entrance of hypocrisy and ignorance. It is, however, true that in their little congregations, with a pathetic earnestness which draws our sympathy, they strive and pray that all shall be pure. *Secondly*, when they object to the organisation of the Church through the ordination of office-bearers, and denounce the ordination of ministers or elders, they deny that Christ intends His Church to be an organised body, and contradict the whole testimony, as naturally understood, of example and precept in the Acts and in the Epistles.

But has not the Church of Christ a great function, often unused in these times? "Come out from among them and be ye separate," are not words which ought

[1] Holden, *Six Letters on Church Questions*, p. 38.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 23.

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to draw believers from the visible organisation of the Church, but they do teach the separation of the Church from the world. It is hard to define the demarcation, and in some things it is for the heart and not in the first instance for the life. But woe betides the Church of Christ when eager hearts cannot distinguish between it and the world that lieth in wickedness, when it does not show forth the praises of Him who called its members out of darkness into His marvellous light. There are many things in which I humbly think the Church of Christ ought to lift up a clearer testimony than she does, perhaps than she dares to do. The evil of *drunkenness* has assumed proportions unknown to the Church of Palestine, or of the early Roman Empire, and yet the modern Church has not ventured to speak of drunkenness as the New Testament speaks. It has been unhappily outside of the Church that the effort to grapple with drunkenness through abstinence, or even through temperance, has usually been sustained.

Again the terrible sin of *uncleanness* in city and country is of ghastly prominence, and all men know it, and yet no adequate, hopeful, humble, prayerful, awe-struck endeavour to cleanse it away has been made by the Church of the Holy Jesus. God forbid that I should say the Church connives. I mean that the Church despairs; and when the army is without hope the solitary combatants and unsupported men at the outposts are stricken down. *Materialism* is rising in rampant power all over the land. The *war of classes* has begun—a war which, if continued, will lead to horror and Anarchy, or to

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despotism and corruption. The Church, like its Master, will always refuse to be a ruler and a judge, so as to divide the inheritance between contending claimants, but the Church has a message to demand generosity of the men who amass fortunes, a message to enjoin steady industry on the men who are poor, that she has been afraid to proclaim in tones that would be heard above the din of gathering battle.

What is the Church we need in these days? It is not a Sunday lounge, cushioned, and shaded, and filled with sweet sounds. It is not a society for the discovery of speculative truth. It is not an alliance for the endowment of research, whether theological, philosophical, or physical. It is not a club to promote pleasant and profitable fellowship. Not any one of those, though all that is best in each of them is in the Church. It is a society of redeemed men and women, banded together to continue and extend Christ's redeeming work upon the earth, bringing sight to the blind, freedom to the captive, the Gospel of God's love to the poor. We can often heal, we can always soothe; we can often break the chains of captivity, we can always minister to those in bonds. And while the heart has woes, and the frame has ills, and society has troubles, there will be the same work of loving-kindness for Christ's people to do as He did in Israel. "Greater works than these shall ye do. I go unto My Father."

Some have told me that in those lectures I have laid too much stress upon organisation; some that I have made too little of Ministers and Elders, of Bishops

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and Priests. It may well be that I have erred; it is certain that I have done my work imperfectly. But the definite purpose from first to last has been to proclaim that in our time there is a call to the Church to awake out of sleep, to realise her mission as the leaven in the world until the whole is leavened. What shall we say? "I believe in the Holy Ghost, in the Holy Catholic Church, in the communion of saints." We need no new form of government; still less a Church with no government at all. If Bishops directed an active movement of their diocesan constituents into the regions that "yet remain to be possessed," would they not win honour from all who mourn the dark spots in the lands of the Gospel? If ministers should be no longer mere teachers and preachers, would they not have a higher function as leaders of the armies of the Living God? If Elders should no longer be members of a mere judicial court, but the wise and willing guides of a thousand workers in the varied labours of the harvest field; if members should no more be hearing units, or souls achieving only their own salvation, but should be a royal priesthood offering up spiritual sacrifices, would one honest heart among us be other than glad?

There is no work to be done by the Church of Christ among us which it cannot accomplish without any constitutional change; and each one of us, while knowing best the defects of his own branch of the Church, probably thinks that it is, notwithstanding, best fitted to overtake all that is needed. But if success is attained,

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and in the measure of that attainment, we shall be led to think less of Churches and more of the one Church; less of this province of religion and that, but more, infinitely more, of the Kingdom of Heaven, the jewels of whose King's crown are redeemed lives.

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